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BRIEFS

ANNUAL PLEDGE \$500 MILLION--Kuwait, 23 Sep (KUNA)--The ministers of finance and economy of five Arab petroleum countries began their meeting here today to agree on the bases of spending \$500 million annually over the next 10 years within the framework of the development contract endorsed by the Arab Summit Conference held in Amman in November last year. The sums will be allocated to support the development process in the poor Arab countries. The meetings, which are held at the headquarters of the Arab Fund for Social and Economic Development, is attended by the finance ministers of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Qatar, and the UAE. The Kuwaiti minister of finance and planning, 'Abd al-Latif al-Hamad, opened the meeting with a speech expressing his hope that they will succeed in pushing the wheel of cooperation and the spirit of joint Arab economic solidarity forward. The sums allocated for the contract and which the five countries have undertaken to cover annually, will be spent through the Arab Fund for Social and Economic Development. [Text] [LD231116 Kuwait KUNA in Arabic 0906 GMT 23 Sep 81]

CSO: 4404/1

PRESENT OIL GLUT DISCUSSED

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic No 217, 29 Jun to 5 Jul 81, pp 37, 38

[Article by 'Afif al-Razzaz: "The Prices Were Silent So That Production Would Talk"]

[Text] The Kuwaiti Minister of Oil: "Every Crisis Is Followed by a Glut, and Then the Glut Disappears."

The International Energy Agency: "A Blessing Has Come From the Desert, But It May Not Last."

After the oil glut on the world market reached a peak which this market has not known since before the first "oil crisis" in 1973, the two matters of oil production and supply began to be of primary concern among international economic circles. The question of oil prices became of secondary importance after the surplus in supply served to limit its degree of urgency for the authorities in the countries most concerned about them.

Last week there were two meetings, held by two interested parties, where the question of supply was discussed. There was the meeting of ministers of the International Energy Agency which was held in Paris, and there was the meeting of the Long-Range Oil Strategy Committee of OPEC which was held in Geneva. Both meetings discussed future prospects--which are based less on facts than they are on predictions which are still subject to change at any moment.

The Kuwaiti oil minister, Shaykh 'Ali al-Khalifah al-Sabah, in an interview which he gave to a Kuwaiti newspaper, anticipated that the present oil glut in the international market will disappear during the next 6 months, that is, by the end of this year. He said: "Those who are planning and making their calculations on the basis of the present abundance of oil in the market are making a mistake. Usually, when there has been a crisis, this has been followed by a surplus, which shortly thereafter disappears."

If this reasoning concerning the disappearance of the surplus of oil in the world market appears ill-founded, in the view of observers who are specialists in the field, nevertheless the International Energy Agency did not depart from the framework of such semi-metaphysical reasoning when it states its apprehension that this oil surplus blessing, which had "come to them" from the desert, would not last.

During the meeting of the ministers in Paris, the Agency's administrative board admitted that the surplus had led to an improvement in the oil situation in the world market. But it attributed this improvement to the fact that there had been a decrease in oil consumption in the large consumer countries--the advanced industrial countries. The board also cautioned against relaxing one's efforts because of these results, because the continuation of "stability" in the market depends on a continuation of the policy of the consumers tightening their belts.

The current chairman of the administrative board of the Energy Agency, Australian Minister of Energy John L. Carrick, said that the 11 member-nations in the Agency should not be fooled by this decrease in the intensity of the crisis because the oil market "is still a fragile one."

The experts of the Agency noted that the stocks of oil in these countries, at the present time, appear more than adequate for the coming winter--the season when consumption of oil and of energy in general noticeably increases. At the beginning of last April, stocks of oil in all of these countries taken together amounted to 430 million tons, and it is expected that these stocks of oil will amount to 445 million tons by next 1 October.

The caution which Carrick displayed with regard to the "fragility" of the market is based on the expectation--still unconfirmed--that there will probably be a revival of the economy of the large industrial capitalist nations during the second half of this year. If this happens, this would necessarily increase oil consumption. But Carrick refused to quote figures when dealing with the probabilities of this revival and the probabilities of subsequent developments in the oil market. The experts in the Agency also avoided giving any estimates linking these two factors.

Nevertheless, Carrick pointed out that the International Energy Agency does not expect the oil imports [of the industrial countries] in the year 1990 to exceed their current imports, which amount to about 19.1 million barrels per day. He said that if there is any probable change, it would be in the direction of a slight decrease in imports.

The American delegates at the meeting of the Energy Agency once again exercised political pressure on their Western allies, attempting to have them participate in the "protection" of the sources of oil in the Middle East. The American secretary of energy, James Edward, stressed the efforts which his country had made to decrease its consumption of oil, and he pointed out that its strategic oil reserves will amount to 195 million barrels by the end of the current fiscal year. The U.S. assistant secretary of foreign affairs, William Clark (who, during Congressional hearings prior to his appointment, became famous for his absolute ignorance concerning foreign affairs), took it upon himself to present the political side of the United States' view of the oil situation. Clark said that the other factor which constitutes a danger to guaranteeing the necessary supply of oil is the factor of instability in the Middle East which "has multiple causes and is multifaceted." He pointed out that "energy depends on the degree of Western influence in the region."

Such a cautious orientation was the rule in the meeting of the ministers of the International Energy Agency, and it was an orientation which insisted that Saudi Arabia, in particular, had played no role in securing the present oil surplus by

holding its production at a high level for about the past year. However, alarm was the most prevalent characteristic at the meeting of OPEC's Long-Range Oil Strategy Committee which was held in Geneva, chaired by Ahmad Zaki al-Yamani, the Saudi minister of petroleum.

In addition to Saudi Arabia, this Committee includes Algeria, Kuwait, Iran, Iraq, and Venezuela. The Committee is an advisory one and its decisions are not binding. It was formed more than 2 years ago in order to formulate a strategy for setting oil prices and oil production. The [formation of this] Committee was supposed to be brought up for approval at the OPEC summit conference which was to be held last November in Baghdad. But the Iraqi-Iranian war, as well as differences within OPEC, prevented this meeting from taking place.

The most important point which today is on the agenda of this Committee--which started out as a temporary committee but which apparently has become a permanent institution--is the evaluation of the previous estimates of OPEC's share in the world oil market. These estimates must be corrected in light of the increase in production on the part of oil-producing nations which are not members of OPEC, and in light of the increasing role which is being played by coal and nuclear power.

The Venezuelan minister of energy, Humberto Calderon, explained that during the past 2 years OPEC had made predictions of its share in the world oil market, but that these predictions had turned out to be inaccurate. Since that time OPEC's production has fallen from 31 million barrels a day (in 1979) to between 24 and 25 million barrels a day at the present time.

Right now there is nothing which indicates any possibility of making more accurate predictions in view of the contentious policies of the two parties, or two blocs, toward each other--with one of these blocs representing the interests of the large consumers and the other representing the interests of the producers. This is especially true since the operation of penetrating the [other party's] positions from inside has already begun to bear fruit. And the unfortunate thing is that this penetration is still being done by only one of the parties.

9468

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STUDY DISCOURAGES CLOSE TIES WITH U.S.

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 233, 8 Aug 81 p 20

[Article by Najib 'Abd al-Hadi: "Profit and Loss Statements of Arab Moderation; A Political-Economic Work Plan that May be Adopted by the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)"]

[Text] A political study carefully prepared by special Gulf (political) circles says that the friendship which the countries of the area have with the U.S. is no longer justifiable, and that these countries must change their political paths if they want to become important in the international field. The study concentrates on the economic aspects and the scientific method the rich Arab oil countries must follow in dealing with the West in general and the U.S. in particular.

The study says that the existing Arab power will not exceed its being financial with limited influence or political authority unless this financial power becomes an economic power. The study suggests that the concerned nations must establish the scientific foundation for transforming the power of Arab money into an economic power.

Gulf political sources told AL-MUSTAQBAL that the study (the new political and economic work plan) was distributed to the member nations of the GCC for review and study of its contents including details, information and documents and to give their opinions concerning it prior to implementation.

The sources said that the first step the rich Arab oil countries will take is the announcement of the formation of an international investment organization with a huge capital which is subject to annual increases. And further, that this organization will be given broad and widespread authorities and financial and economic jurisdiction in various countries around the world. This organization will operate on strictly economic principles, and its main objective will not only be profit-making, but will also concentrate on financial investments that have both economic and political returns.

The sources said that the (organization's) proposed initial capital is \$6 billion, subject to annual increases at very high rates.



AL-MUSTAQBAL also learned that this investment organization will not be limited to rich oil countries, but its doors will be wide open to every Arab nation that wishes to participate. These sources believe that this direction toward building a unified and strong Arab economy will create better political climates and will make the Arabs an effective power that cannot be ignored, particularly since economics has become firmly tied to politics. A strong economy, as a prominent Gulf official said, creates a strong and effective policy; while a weak economy is inevitably accompanied by a weak policy that remains unable to achieve any political gains.

Some Kuwaiti political and economic agencies anticipate that this work plan will have great significance in the world and will also create political and economic climates that never existed before. Therefore, these agencies see the necessity of expediting the implementation of this plan.

These agencies also said that they favor the presentation of this work plan to member nations of the Arab League so that they could first voice an opinion and later participate in the plan's proposed capital which will have an effect and influence on many economic activities in the world.

AL-MUSTAQBAL also learned, from gulf political sources, that the GCC will acknowledge this study and announce its adoption officially during the first summit meeting held by the member nations. It is worth noting here that the ministers of finance and economy in the gulf nations had held a conference in al-Dammam, in Saudi Arabia during last June to conclude discussions regarding this study. They also approved the proposed investment agency's basic laws. The sources said that all viewpoints were in total agreement.

The source also says: "It is time to establish new bases for dealing with the west, and in particular the U.S., which is expanding its ties with Israel day after day, ignoring other relationships and friends in the area, and also ignoring its own widespread interests in this area. We have tried in the past, to follow a policy of moderation in our political dealings. However, this path no longer serves our Arab and national interests and it had not resulted in any worthwhile political gains. Therefore, continuing in this current path will leave negative repercussions that involve many risks. This makes it our duty to work fast toward linking economics to politics in a manner that serves our crucial interests, the most important one being the central cause; the Palestinian cause."

The source also emphasized: "Putting the Arab economy to use for serving economic [sic] causes will be one of the most important and prominent aims of the organization. The organization will also employ all its energies and power in order to benefit from advanced technology, using it in various fields and spheres in the Arab world."

9455

CSO: 4304/125

## AFGHANISTAN

### SOVIET MILITARY POSITION ASSESSED

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE in Dutch 29 Aug 81 pp 32-38

[Article by Peter Scholl-Latour: "How Afghan Warriors are Beating Russia"]

[Text] The Soviet occupation army in Afghanistan is fighting Moslem guerrilla units in desolate mountain areas with armored helicopters. The Afghan guerrilla fighters, trusting in Allah, are having more success than the Kremlin could expect. With a TV team which obtained special permission to cross the Afghan border from Pakistan, accompanied by Mujaheddin warriors, special ELSEVIER correspondent Peter Scholl Latour--wrapped up in a local disguise--climbed up on a donkey and gun in hand, sized up the situation in this war theater which is so crucial for Moscow.

The enterprise began as a masquerade. We had Afghan clothing made for ourselves in the Peshawar bazaar and tried on in astonishment the shapeless, wide trousers. A flattering shirt, which fell to the knees and a coat also went with them.

On the evening before our departure, when we looked at ourselves in the mirror under the enormous Pashtun turban or under the round cap of the Nuristani, we seemed very ridiculous, all the more so since our beard stubble--in the Yassir Arafat fashion--stood out on our faces.

But the Mujaheddin of the Afghan resistance organization Hisb-i-Islami which we wanted to accompany over the border to Afghanistan, had absolutely insisted on this outfit, otherwise we would not have any chance of passing through the Pakistani inspections and in Afghanistan itself, we would risk the greatest dangers in European clothing.

We were summoned at 0600 hours in the morning to the main headquarters of the Hisb-i-Islami in the Fairabad section of the city.

Three brightly painted Afghan buses, in which about 180 Mujaheddin had already squeezed, awaited us. We would hide inconspicuously in this crowd and in case of emergency pass ourselves off to the Pakistani police as Turkmen or Uzbeks.

The mood in the buses was pleasantly excited. Most of the young men who were still unarmed, in the framework of a carefully selected rotation system, were returning to the battlefield after a period of rest in the hinterland and longed for their "Holy War."

Heavily armed guards with Kalashnikov machine guns stood before the entrance of the main headquarters of the Hisb-i-Islami and searched every visitor for weapons or explosives. We were repeatedly asked in Peshawar why we had deliberately picked the Hisb-i-Islami as traveling companions. I had quite consciously turned to this extreme Islamic group. They want, besides the fight against the Russian invaders, to subject their own feudal lords to the egalitarianism of early Islam and, on the other hand, are suspicious of the obscure or at least naive beliefs of the local mullahs. I know from experience that in the partisan war, the future belongs to the radicals, to the uncompromising organizations.

The founders of Hisb-i-Islami and also the present leadership come to a considerable extent from the Afghan intelligentsia and a section of the petty bourgeoisie, who, going back to the fundamental principles of early Islam, are seeking a religious and especially social renewal. It appears that these Moslem revolutionaries, who are related in many respects to the Moslem brothers, have conspiratorial and organizational capacities which the other fighting groups lack.

We had already bought in Peshawar four donkeys and six horses to transport our heavy TV equipment. The night in Terremangal was mainly occupied with packing and preliminary conversations--with green and black tea which kept us awake and made us nervous. We practically were not able to sleep. The departure in the dark and the mud--it had rained days before--took place in great confusion.

When we hastened over a steep slope, which seemed never to end, towards the border, the sun spread its first light. Luckily the Pakistani border troops did not stop us at the last moment. The Afghan border station on the other side was destroyed and burned out. We discovered a destroyed Russian armored car beside it. Shahid, who rode beside me, declared that this area already was liberated from Russians and communists 2 years ago. Tall green pine forests led us down the mountain. We found ourselves in an area where, before the outbreak of hostilities, German development assistants had helped in a large forestry project. But all foreigners had already long disappeared from this area. Only the outside walls of the sawmill were standing. Commander Shahid, who only spoke

Pushtu and Dari--the Persian colloquial language, especially in central and northern Afghanistan--informed me through our interpreters (the Afghan engineer-student Wali from Hildesheim and the sociology student Amin from Strasbourg) that we should advance from now on in small groups of from two to three men.

At about a distance of 6 kilometers, he showed us a reinforced military camp, which still was in the hands of pro-Russian government troops and from which fire was opened from time to time on the Mujaheddin passing through. Shahid declared, "generally speaking they act peacefully, in the expectation that we also will leave them alone. They are supplied by helicopter and are completely isolated there."

We went through a series of villages, which were still partly inhabited, even if holes were shot in the walls now and then by rocket attacks. The grain was high and apricot trees were already bearing their first fruits.

Our escorts were not especially well armed. They carried British Enfield rifles from the Second World War and gave the appearance of some nervousness, as it was suspected that the Pashtun tribe of the Dsjordsji would not be a reliable partner in the struggle against the Russians and could be bribed now and then. The rivalry between the Afghan resistance groups possibly was also expressed here for the first time. Far from all the Mujaheddin sympathize with the fanatic zealots of the Hisb-i-Islami.

The distance which we would have to cover, going and coming, amounted to 600 kilometers as the crow flies. In fact, in the mountains, it was certainly double that. And we had already learned on this first day that the Mujaheddin's ideas of time and distance were far above our powers. Among the Afghans, it apparently is a characteristic of masculine competition--there is some bluff in it--to climb a large and difficult high mountain in a minimum of time. Only this almost unbelievable mobility and endurance explains the resistance against the Russian show of power in the entire country standing its ground. After 2 weeks of marching, we probably would have reached such a degree of exhaustion that operating cameras would no longer be possible.

About evening we reached Laredar in a rocky mountain valley. Before the commander continued from here with his partisans on the way to Asrow--10 hours of walking and bombarded by the Russians in the early days--we took our leave with the threefold brotherly kiss, as is customary among the Afghan mountain people. Two armed Mujaheddin were left behind to protect us, which was not any excessive precautionary measure, for the equipment and also the cash which we were



carrying represented unimaginable wealth in this wilderness. Our stay in Laredar became an extraordinary experience. We apparently were in one of the important infiltration routes of the resistance fighters, which leads to the Kabul area and to the extreme north of Afghanistan. New groups of Mujaheddin of different races and political convictions arrived continuously. They rested a short time at our samovar, drank a cup of tea and cooked some rice. Afterwards, they said their prayers with devout fervor. They kept their rifles nearby within reach. The respective leaders acted at the same time as pastor, as "Imam." The Fatiha, a chapter of the Koran, rang solemnly through the rocky mountain valley.

Two old men with white beards spoke animatedly and amicably with us. They pointed to the sky and described the helicopters, cursed the "sjoerawi" of the Russians and imitated the noise of machine guns. Even for these old men, who moved with amazing agility over the steep terrain, this "holy war" was a great joy.

Whenever an armed group appeared, we asked to what political group it belonged. If they were men of the Hisb-i-Islami, our two bodyguards embraced them and we sat down with them around the fire. But as soon as partisans of the "Harakat-inkelab-i-Islami appeared and affixed a poster with the likeness of their leader Mohammadi on the stone wall of our tea house, the atmosphere became tense, almost hostile.

In Laredar we spent the night on the bare ground with the steaming samovar. During the first night our camera team were the victims of countless flea bites. These insects would always accompany us after that. We were offered as first course some rice and a couple of potatoes, along with the sugared, green tea. We would not settle down. The "host" of our establishment stumbled regularly over the sleeping men, to get scanty supplies out of their boxes and cases for new groups of Mujaheddin. The fighters sat a few hours around the campfire, warmed themselves and continued indefatigably their march through the mountains. There also came a caravan with wounded which was led further in the direction of Pakistan. The Russians had bombed the Tessin Pass which leads over the Kabul-Jalalabad road. Moreover, there were 17 dead and many wounded.

Already in the early morning camels approached from the direction of the Pakistani border, which were loaded with bazooka ammunition. To our great surprise the Mujaheddin's weapons' arsenal was much better than could be expected. Hunting rifles and old-fashioned rifles loaded with grape shot had disappeared long ago. The Russian Kalashnikov, also named the AK 47, is a part more and more of the basic equipment. It also includes light Russian and British produced machine guns and a relatively high caliber antiaircraft weapon which the Russians call "Dashka." We looked curiously for the origin of

the many bazookas. Apparently they were part of a tacitly agreed policy to supply the Afghan partisans with Russian produced equipment or at least with Russian types. A bearded Pashtun type, a giant declared to us, very credibly and with the agreement of his fellow combatants, that the Mujaheddin have long ago overcome their fear of the tanks and that they often dance with joy when Russian tanks are reported. The "Holy War" fighters then fight for the honor of firing the bazookas from a long distance.

The Russian pursuit planes, mostly the Mig-21 have lost much of their effect and are valued mainly as a psychological factor in warfare. On the other hand, the Russian helicopters of the Mi-24 type are deadly and almost invincible. Because of their heavy titanium armament, they cannot be brought down, even with the 12.7 millimeter calibre heavy machine guns which have been delivered recently by the Chinese over a circuitous route. The Afghan resistance obviously lacks surface-air missiles. The fighters in the mountains are helpless at the mercy of the missiles and weapons on board the Mi-24.

The Russian troop movements on the roads controlled by them during the day consequently take place under the indispensable protection of their invulnerable helicopters.

You can imagine without much difficulty how the general strategic situation would change if the Afghans would actually be equipped on a certain day, even to a modest extent, with surface-air missiles of the type, as for example, the Russian Sam-7. In that case, the war would take a decisive turn. The Russians would then be forced on to the defensive and in all probability not even will be able to hold the indispensable communications roads which run from Amudarja via the Salang Tunnel to Kabul and from there over the important circumferential road to Kandahar and Herat.

On the following days of our march I was able to determine that a comparison between Afghanistan and Vietnam would be misleading. Continuing on our way to Asrow, we came through mountain villages which perhaps were bombed now and then, but a systematic destructive operation by the Russian air force, as was customary in Indo-China in the "free fire" zones by the American Air Force, has not taken place in Afghanistan until now. The numerical strength would develop more and more in favor of the resistance. Experts recommend a numerical proportion of 1:10 in combating partisans, in order to have a chance of success. One is far removed from that in Afghanistan. Even if the Russians, instead of the 85,000 men as is always officially indicated, should have stationed 100,000 soldiers--of which in the most favorable case 20,000 would be actual combat troops--that is still absolutely insufficient. The Afghan government army, which is fighting on the Russian side, has shriveled up in recent months like goat-skin. Its combat readiness leaves much to be desired. It amounts



to wholesale desertion. The present strength of this army is estimated at 35,000 men at the most. On the other hand, according to careful estimates, there are about 100,000 well armed, highly motivated Mujaheddin, experienced in mountain warfare. Accordingly, to that are added at least 100,000 partisans, who live during the day as farmers and traders, but are available to the different resistance movements at all times as armed auxiliary forces.

In 1979 Abd el-Wadud, as the head of the Mujaheddin, gave the government of President Hafizollah Amin, who was murdered later, the false impression that he wanted to join with 300 followers in the struggle of the Marxist government against the rebels. He took delivery of 300 rifles, went over to the resistance with them and led the first attack on the northern city of Faizabad.

Abd el-Wadud, whom we met in a remote camp, was originally a teacher, but meanwhile he has developed into an outstanding leader in the "Holy War". He assembles his men under the picture of Hekmtjar and the student Kais from Kabul leads the speaking choruses with a megaphone. The Mujaheddin have speaking choruses for their party, the Hisb-i-Islami, their leader Hekmatjar and the independence of Afghanistan. But the continuously recurring cry is heard "Allahu akbar!" Besides scorning the Soviet Union, communism and the red "Quislings" in Kabul, there also sounds: "Margbar America"--"death to Americans!"

The attitude about Moscow has not led at all here to reconciliation with the West. In later conversations we find out that most of the resistance fighters do not favor Khomeini's Iranian revolution, either.

The bearded guerrillas share the bold dreams of their leader Hekmatjar. Meanwhile our five man television team fitted into Abd el-Wadud's military group without problems. At the Aserre Camp--a small resting place on our march through a wild mountain landscape which it was difficult to pass through--the Mujaheddins conversation constantly revolved around the military situation. For these simple men from the mountains who normally earn their living laboriously as tenant farmers or day laborers, the "Holy War" is the great adventure in their life. We learned that the Soviet Army controls only very incompletely Afghanistan's most important cities, such as Kandahar and Herat. A relatively well functioning intelligence organization apparently exists between the resistance groups in the various provinces, although the war circumstances create a chaotic impression for a western observer.

There are numerous tribal organizations in the interior which are hardly known in Pakistani Peshawar or Quetta and which are carrying out their "Djihad" with complete independence. However this multiplicity can also benefit the Pakistanis. Not the slightest chance

exists for the Russian military machine to wipe out its opponent's front once and for all with a well planned operation. The Afghan resistance is a sort of hydra on which new heads continually grow again. Moreover, the oriental mentality of these fighters brings every European strategy to despair. But on our trip through Afghanistan we could confirm that the so-called "free areas" are extending and are constantly affected less by Russian intervention.

Abd el-Wadud answered my question that the military training of his men is so relatively satisfactory because many officers of the former Afghan Army have joined the Mujaheddin and are taking care of systematic instruction.

Commander Abd el-Wadud showed himself to be an excellent horseman and a born "chapendoz." At night we slept in the mosque, at the foot of the shrine of the "Mihrab," which was a special honor for we unbelievers. Abd el-Wadud had advised us to continue further on the way to the northeast with his group. We would run into difficulties finding fodder for our animals. After the bombardment of Tessin Pass we probably had to cross completely impassable terrain and especially there would be no opportunity to film the Kabul-Jalalabad highway in daylight, because we would have to move in all haste at night.

The Mujaheddin's breaking camp was originally planned for the time of morning prayer, about 0530. However, those plans were suddenly changed. The departure now took place at 0200 hours. Within a quarter of an hour, this group of about 300 men was again fully ready to start. We needed much more time to load our pack horses and with a small escort, we set out on the way in the opposite direction. The previous day so much noise and shooting took place in the neighborhood, that we had to expect in all seriousness the arrival of Russian helicopters. Darkness was our best protection.

I appeared so haggard, that I was stopped by older men who wanted to have a conversation with me in Pushtu or Dari. After a strenuous climb, we reached the next resting place, we set up camp around the inevitable samovar and spoke with the help of our interpreter, Amin about the problem of islam. Even the very simple Mujaheddin proved to be remarkably well informed about the events in Iran and the Arab world. Our reliable bodyguard was a small but powerfully developed Hazara, a Mongol from the neighborhood of Kabul, named Daoed. He developed a special fondness for me because of my quotations from the Koran. We discussed why the fundamentalists of Hisb-i-Islami refused to seek active support against the Russians from the Americans. It involves here a fundamental, almost theological question. The Islamic proverb: "La illaha illa 'llah!"--there is only "one God, the only God"--is logically transferred to politics. Submission or even relying on a superpower would, in a certain sense, seem to betray the principle which declares that God is greater than everything else--"Allahu akbar!"

The Afghan Mujaheddins have great sympathy for the Moslem Brotherhood movement in the Arab World. On the other hand, they regard the Syrian Baath regime of President Hafez al-Assad as godless, as a satellite of the Soviet Union, even as an "open ally" of Israel.

On the way back from the mountains, we were in a hurry to get out of Terremangal for the mood among the Pakistani there was unpleasant. It came to violent political skirmishes under a placard in honor of Khomeini. When the night quarters were set up, we noticed that we were in a very (homofiele) environment. Suddenly we were out of the solemn mood of the "Holy War" and had ended up in the atmosphere of a "midnight express."

Amin and Wali had organized with their usual efficiency a bus full of Mujaheddin in which we submerged ourselves. Meanwhile because of our beard stubble and our dirty clothing, we appeared remarkably more credible. The vehicle was lined inside with a silver colored plate, like a tabernacle.

The Pakistani inspections were stricter than on the trip out because the Islamabad security authorities feared that the armed opposition against the regime of President Sia ul-Haq--especially the supporters of the executed former President Zoelfikar Ali Bhutto--would want to infiltrate out of Afghanistan agents and saboteurs of the banned "Pakistan People's Party."

The Hisb-i-Islami prepared a special surprise for us directly in the border area. Dr Karim, an Afghan physician practicing in Osnabruck, who had organized our expedition from the beginning, had two Soviet soldiers, who had been taken prisoner by the Mujaheddin, brought before us. It involved a Russian sergeant from the Perm area in the Urals, who claimed he had been separated from his comrades at Bagram and at first he had feared he would be killed by his guards. Now he gave the impression of again being very trustful. His name was (Juri Grigorjewitsy Powarnizyn). The second soldier was a Turkmen, named (Jaskuliejew) whose first name (Mohammedgul) marked him as a Moslem. He called himself a deserter. While (Powarnizyn) fell into the hands of the Mujaheddin in the Bagram area, (Jaskuliejew) changed sides at Sjarikar along the road which goes to the Salang Tunnel. Thus further proof was supplied that the Mujaheddin can move fairly unhindered and make remote regions unsafe, even in the area which is regarded as the center of the Russian show of force in Afghanistan. The Turkmen (Jaskuliejew) complained that he had been badly treated by the Russian superiors in his unit. "I was often beaten," he asserted, "like that can only happen among us with wives." He now wanted to join in the "Holy War" and declared after some hesitation that the Islamic revolution would spread to the Moslem peoples in Soviet Central Asia. Both of these Soviet soldiers refused my offer to deliver letters to their families via the Red Cross--the Afghans agreed to it.

Back in Pakistan, we spoke with a high Pakistani security officer, who is in charge of surveillance of the entire border from Chinese Sinkiang to Baluchistan. "We are confronted with a startling and shocking fact" says this border commissioner. "The Russians are losing their partisan war in Afghanistan. For whoever does not crush such guerrillas with absolute military and political superior force is ultimately the loser. The world and the western media are not sufficiently informed about this development." So we fly with our assignment back to Europe, to announce to the Free World that the Soviets are faring bitterly in Afghanistan.

8490

CSO: 3105/180



KARMAL SPEECH TO YOUTH ORGANIZATION REPORTED

LD120342 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 10 Sep 81

[Speech by Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of the DRA Revolutionary Council, delivered during 8 September meeting of activists of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan in the DRA Armed Forces, at the Valam Khana Hall of the DRA Revolutionary Council--recorded]

[Excerpts] Young soldiers and dear comrades,

It is my pleasure to have the opportunity of meeting you representatives of this courageous organization and those who have devoted their youth for struggle in the ranks of our heroic army for the prosperity and well-being of the noble people of Afghanistan and for the development of our beloved homeland.

Today there is no other sacred and more important duty than the armed defense of the glorious objectives of the Sawr Revolution, the total elimination of counterrevolutionary elements and providing peaceful conditions for peace and creative work for the toiling people of Afghanistan.

Dear youth, recently noticeable and important changes have occurred in the PDPA and in the life of the toiling people of Afghanistan. The DRA Defense Council has been formed, as a result of a Politburo decision, to consolidate all of the forces of the government and the people for the elimination of counterrevolutionaries. It has as its authority all of the power of the government. Important decisions have recently been made by the Defense Council for the strengthening of the armed forces and local governments in securing (?uninterrupted) activities on the communication routes of the country.

Similarly, a session of the party activists of the PDPA has been opened for the first time since the victory of the glorious Sawr revolution. During this session the duties of the army, government intelligence service, Sarandoy, party and government organs for the intensification of the struggle against counterrevolutionaries has been considered and evaluated in a very cordial atmosphere.

The Central Committee of the party and government have also raised a series of peaceful initiatives in the international field. So far armed aggressions are taking place, as before, on the sacred soil of our beloved homeland, Afghanistan, mainly from the territory of Pakistan. The Government of the DRA once again

proposed to discuss and consider (?subjects) connected with the normalization of relations with the Government of Pakistan. Similarly, regarding the establishment of friendly relations with Iran, we have reaffirmed our readiness for the advancement of discussions in this respect. All of these peaceful initiatives for the removal of armed interference by sinister imperialists in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, as part of an international guarantee, is viewed as security for our young republic.

Comrades, the law of evolution of human societies and the law of young liberating revolutions have proven that it is the youth who, in the frontline of struggle on the path of freedom and justice, are sacrificing their dear lives.

Comrades, despite the great efforts which are taking place by our party, because of the activities of the U.S. imperialists and other enemies of the noble Afghan people, bloodshed is continuing on the sacred land of our beloved country. Irrespective of this, the lackeys of counterrevolution, who are instigated by the United States and their Chinese [word indistinct] are striving to unify their efforts and concentrate their forces.

They provide supplies of weapons and food for the rebel bandits in preparation for new conspiracies and intrigues.

The savage crimes of the enemies are still continuing. Armed rebels have set fire to mosques, schools, houses and agricultural production units and have been murdering children and elders. They have been plundering the property of the people and are committing the most savage crimes in order to threaten the people, to dispossess them from the benefits of revolution and to drown in blood the inclination of the noble people for freedom and prosperity. They are acting most cunningly and [word indistinct]. They are not only committing sabotage and terrorist actions, but they want to (?damage) the firm determination of the people of Afghanistan through ideological sabotage, the fabrication of lies, (words indistinct) and misleading class awareness, and weaken in their minds the faith in a bright future.

The enemies are striving to sow discord among the tribes, nationalities and inhabitants of our country and are striving to [word indistinct] against our gains, that is to say the Afghan-USSR friendship. This disinterested and internationalist friendship which has now achieved solidarity through struggle and has [words indistinct] in the struggle against the enemies of the DRA, is the most valuable and precious gain of the people of Afghanistan. My visit which took place recently with L. I. Brezhnev, the great friend of the people of Afghanistan, and general secretary of CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, is a vivid demonstration of this infallible friendship. [applause]

The bravery and heroism of the people of Vietnam is unprecedented. The Western imperialists during tens of years wanted to subjugate revolutionary Vietnam, but they themselves were defeated. [applause]



[LD120820] U.S. imperialism, this cunning and powerful enemy, set fire to the soil of this heroic country [Vietnam] and eliminated millions of Vietnamese strugglers. However, it could not succeed in winning victory from the people of Vietnam and from their iron-like determination to gain freedom. Now the people of Angola, Nicaragua, Ethiopia and the heroic people of Palestine, with relentless struggle and heroic resistance against the imperialist forces, are fighting for a prosperous future for their children. These and similar examples indicate that a new life, free from oppression, injustice and exploitation, cannot be achieved easily. It must be earned as a result of a stubborn struggle. This struggle requires the effort and combativeness of all forces. It requires self-sacrifice for the freedom and prosperity of the toiling people. Every noble youth and person who loves the homeland must realize this fact. In the history of our country and in the memories of our future generations the names of those who are fighting in the ranks of heroic strugglers and the names of those who sacrifice their lives for a bright future will remain forever. The future generations of our country will accept the heroism and epics of today's youthful heroes as the standard by which to measure their lives. They will keep them in their hearts as a measurement of loyalty to the homeland.

The homeland will not forgive those who keep themselves aloof at this critical moment and who do not stand on the side of defending the glorious future of the homeland. History will forget them and will reject them as blood-devouring enemies.

Everyone in this respected audience is a participant in these great changes and is writing the most glorious pages of the history of the Afghan homeland with their blood and lives. The Sawr revolution and the currents of the revolution once again reveal the correctness of the great leader of international proletarianism that to gain power is easier than keeping it.

I would like to bring to your attention the matter that all counterrevolution forces and regional reaction, who are supported by the U.S. imperialists and Chinese hegemonists, are endeavoring with full intensity to preserve and maintain oppression, exploitation, poverty, backwardness, illiteracy and a lack of culture, which has been suppressing the free soul of the noble Afghan people for centuries. Those who think that victory, in the struggle for a prosperous and glorious future, can be achieved without the heroic work and struggle of tens and hundreds of thousands of patriots, very much misunderstand life and history. You must know that the defense of the gains of the glorious Sawr revolution is a matter which depends, more than anything else, on the noble people of Afghanistan themselves. Therefore, the effort of every Afghan individual should increase every day in this struggle and the people of Afghanistan, should defend their liberating revolution with heroism, courage and vigilance. This is the command of our fatherland: [applause] I must very clearly declare to you youths, and also I declare to the people of the world that the limited military contingents of the Soviet Union are as a force in reserve in Afghanistan against the external imperialist reactionary aggression. However, the defense of revolution and the struggle against rebels and thieves and [words indistinct] the construction of a new socioeconomic society is entrusted to you, the youths of Afghanistan. [applause]

Such an inclination for [word indistinct] most of all is the formation of the National Fatherland Front. The formation of this organization is another witness for the defeat of the enemies who strive to impose and to revive the past hated regime with the use of weapons and terrorism. We are optimistic and (?firmly) believe that the noble people of our country will have the capability to toss off their shoulder the heavy burdens of the past century and with a spirit of enthusiasm they will begin to work and struggle; and with the assurance of a prosperous, successful and blossoming future they will build a new life.

The significant role for the defense of the revolution and struggle against the enemies of revolution is the duty of the patriotic youth. Only the army, equipped with modern weapons and ammunition with organized, and from the political point of view highly-aware personnel, is capable of defeating the devilish forces of the enemy and of eliminating them totally.

The army, government intelligence service and Sarandoy, are among those forces in our young republic, which the people time and again have looked at with hope. They regard them as liberators and as their genuine defenders. Our armed forces have proven their faithfulness and belief in the lofty objectives of the Sawr revolution. At present are defending its lofty objectives and are eliminating the enemies of the revolution.

Our courageous and patriotic soldiers in [words indistinct] struggle against the enemies of Afghanistan's toiling people, are showing heroism and self-sacrifice.

[LD120915] Hundreds of officers, NCO's, army men and Sarandoy have received government medals and badges. The strategic initiative is totally in the hands of the government and our armed forces. The large bands of counterrevolutionaries have been eliminated and their remnants have dispersed into small and minor groups which are engaging in terrorism [words indistinct] and the creation of dangerous and tense situations, terror and fear. In order to attain final victory, the noble people of the country and our heroic armed forces must untiringly carry out further actions, and in this regard the scope of the activities of the army's youth organizations is truly unlimited.

In conditions of severe class struggle, we need discipline and firm military order, and the majority [words indistinct] to secure this awareness in the broad masses of army personnel is the important duty of you [word indistinct] activist youths of the armed forces. As a matter of fact, you should act as assistants and close aides of the commanders, political employees and the army organization, and you should help mold our army into a unified and powerful organization [words indistinct] united iron determination and (?attract) tens, hundreds and thousands of people for the fulfillment of the objectives--that is, the elimination of counterrevolutionary elements. [applause]

You are dutybound to nourish in every young soldier a feeling of responsibility for the fate of the Sawr revolution and the toiling people of Afghanistan, and to encourage the masses of soldiers to heroism and self-sacrifice with samples of manhood and bravery.

The army of the DRA is based on the ideology of the working class and defends the interests of the toiling peasants and progressive intelligentsia and other patriots.

No one should forget this fact. You young activists must be the close aides of the army in training the soldiers in ideology and revolutionary beliefs so they will be able to understand class struggle and perceive who are their friends and enemies, against the latter of whom they should struggle for a bright future.

Our forces will be increased by large numbers as long as every patriotic youth in the army defends with body and soul the lofty objectives of the Sawr revolution.

Dear young comrades: The homeland has placed at your disposal modern weapons and war equipment. You can demonstrate your patriotism (?by learning how to use) these weapons and by skillfully wielding them in battle. The skillful use of arms along the political awareness of patriotic soldiers will make us invincible. [applause]

Self-sacrificing Afghan youth: The enemies of the revolution must fall in fear in face of power and ability and [words indistinct] and confront you in any part of the country [words indistinct].

I address you, brave [words indistinct] reinforcement personnel, artillery men and pilots. The enemy must feel with their flesh, skin and bone your war skill and high training power and should be eliminated forever from the bloodstained territory of Afghanistan.

Our [words indistinct] is linked by unity with the people. The army is enjoying the support and the best sons of the people and is struggling for the bright future and progress of Afghanistan. We must consolidate this unity. People are united with [word indistinct] and are forging ahead towards a united objective. They are invincible. [applause]

Comrades and youths: Every one of you must broaden the Afghan-Soviet friendship and the military cooperation between the DRA and the comrade soldiers of the limited Soviet units for the defense of freedom, independence and the revolution. You must guard this friendship and do your share in consolidating a friendship atmosphere. [applause]

Comrades: At the present time there is no more important duty than the quicker and complete elimination of counterrevolutionary elements and the bringing about of conditions of peace and calm and an atmosphere in which the Afghan people can engage in peaceful work.

The year 1361 [beginning 21 March 1982] must be a year in which we finally eliminate the enemies and provide conditions for peaceful work and the economic and cultural construction of a free, independent and proud revolutionary Afghanistan. All our efforts must be devoted to these objectives.

Long live the glorious Sawr revolution. [applause]

Long live the PDPA, the leader and inspiration of our revolution, a party of heroes and martyrs on the path of the salvation of the toiling people of Afghanistan. [applause]

Long live the eternal and infallible Afghan-Soviet friendship. [applause]

Long live the heroic DRA armed forces, these earnest guardians and reliable defenders of the glorious Sawr revolution, these earnest guardians and reliable defenders of the freedom, independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Afghans. [applause]

Long live the proud DYOA which has participated with the PDPA in heroic and patriotic episodes in Afghan history. [applause]

Comrades and heroic youth of Afghanistan: All of you, along with the party, government, people, revolution and all of your forces, must side by side and shoulder to shoulder forge ahead toward the total elimination of the counter-revolutionaries for the sake of the revolution of the workers of Afghanistan. [applause]

CSO: 4665/1

## AFGHANISTAN

### DRA-USSR COOPERATION DESCRIBED

LD192006 Kabul Radio in English to Europe 1900 GMT 18 Sep 81

[Text] (?Diploma) Engineer Mohammad Isma'il Danesh, the minister of mines and industry, has returned home after paying an official and friendly visit to the Soviet Union. In connection to this trip, and regarding cooperation of the Soviet Union with Afghanistan, (?We) have interviewed the minister of mines and industry.

In reply to a question the minister of mines and industry said: During 1 week's stay in the Soviet Union the Afghan delegation visited a number of places, in coal exploitation and institutions as well as one coppermine exploitation and enrichment complex. The Afghan delegation discussed the expansion of economic and technical cooperation in the field of coal mining with the authorities of the Soviet Union and have signed a protocol regarding the start in expansion of cooperation in the area of coal exploitation and training of technical cadres, which is of high importance in the development of coal and metallurgy in our beloved country, Afghanistan. The Afghan delegation, during its stay in the Soviet Union, has also visited a number of historical cities and Moscow, and some beautiful KK cities of Uzbekistan, such as Tashkent, Samarkand, etc, during which they felt the warm, friendly, and fraternal feelings of this people of the Soviets toward the government and people of our revolutionary country, Afghanistan.

Our observation of historical relics of the cities of Moscow and Tashkent reveal the fact to what extent the government, people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, contrary to the false and baseless propaganda of the mass media of imperialistic countries, tries in preserving the historical relics and cultural traditions of all nationalities and peoples of the Soviet Union, especially the people of Afghanistan.

The results of our visit in the Soviet Union, in addition to experiences and fruitful results in the technical field, is bringing the warm and fraternal message of the people of the Soviet Union regarding peace and neighborliness (?in) the revolutionary people of Afghanistan. In connection to the cooperation of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in the areas of mines and industries, [we] must state this cooperation is based on unshakeable, consolidated selflessness and goodneighborly relations established between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union by Valdimir Ilyich Lenin, the great October Socialist Revolution.



These relations were established after Afghanistan gained its political independence in the year 1919 from the British colonialists, and it has perpetually strengthened during the past 60 years. These relations culminated the unshakable and fraternal (?level) after the victory of the glorious Sawr revolution. The cooperation between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union has especially expanded unprecedentedly in the past 20 years. The Soviet Union has rendered assistance in cooperation during this period to a large number of infrastructural institutions such as hydropower, construction of modern asphalted highways, diversion dams and tunnels, irrigation networks, big exploitation and exploration of (?ferrous) mines and natural gas (?projects), chemical fertilizers and thermal power, (?factories), textiles, [words indistinct] etc, from which billions of Afghanis [words indistinct] to the government's revenue. These [words indistinct] are of high importance in the growth of national industries in insuring the economic independence of Afghanistan, which guarantees the victory of our people in their struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism.

An amount of more than 10 (?billion) of Afghanis was added to the government's income from the export of Khwarja Gogerdak and Jarqodoq natural gas in the past year, which in fact constitutes 30 percent of the budget. The important industrial projects which are currently under construction with the assistance of the Soviet Union are as follows:

Qandahar cotton textile with the annual capacity of 40 million meters of cotton cloth 1,000 tons of [word indistinct] and 50 million meters of [word indistinct] textile, Herat cotton textile, with an annual capacity of 12.5 million meters of cotton and 500 tons of [word indistinct] and the expansion of [word indistinct] textiles with the annual capacity of 12 million meters of cotton textile.

In addition, in accordance with the economic cooperation agreement of March 1979 and December 1980 between the governments of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, the cooperation of the Soviet Union is foreseen in a number of highly important projects, the most important of which are as follows:

The oil refinery project with the annual capacity of 500,000 tons of crude oil, [words indistinct] exploitation and enrichment complex with the annual capacity of 140,000 tons of pure copper, establishment of simple agromachinery in Herat Province; expansion of work of (Tabushak) coalmine, resulting in expansion of (Jangalak) car-repair factory; creation of [words indistinct] energy complex; rebuilding and expansion of [word indistinct] factory in Kabul; expansion of geological exploration of oil and natural gas in the (?north region) of Afghanistan, etc.

With completion of oil refinery factory, a large amount of oil requirement of the country, which is currently imported, will be met. With completion of 'Ainak copper mine, exploitation and (?enrichment), a modern city will be built in (Mohammad) of Lowgar which will have a population of more than 30,000. In addition, a large number of our engineers, technical and skilled workers will be trained in an amount of 13 billion Afghanis [as heard] with 6.2 billion Afghanis net income will be added to the income of the government.



For the realization of the importance of the Afghan-Soviet cooperation in the area of industry, it is sufficient to say that 65 percent of its annual resources in the finance of developing projects of our country during the past year will receive from the unconditional credit of the Soviet Union and this is in addition to 100 million grant of the Soviet Union during the past to the people of Afghanistan. [sentence as heard]

CSO: 4600/1

## BRIEFS

SOVIET TEACHERS IN UNIVERSITIES--New Delhi, 22 Sep (AFP)--Soviet teachers have started filling up vacancies in Afghan universities caused by the desertion of Afghan teachers opposed to the present government, Western diplomatic sources said here today. Politically non-committed teachers are also being replaced by young teachers who are members of the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). The sources here, quoting a circular signed by the Afghan deputy minister of education, said that the university authorities had been asked to give preference to teachers who hold "progressive" views. Area experts here said that the latest Soviet move was part of a drive to make fundamental changes in Afghanistan. During the past 2 years, Afghan young people, mainly males in their late teens or early 20's have been sent to the Soviet Union for advanced education. To ensure that government policies are properly followed in educational institutions, the government gave teachers an ultimatum last February to join the party or be dismissed. Subsequently a number of teachers chose to flee the country. [Text] [BK221137 Hong Kong AFP in English 1117 GMT 22 Sep 81]

CSO: 4600/1

## GOVERNMENT PARTY MEMBER CRITICIZES VARIOUS OPPOSITION FIGURES

Cairo MAY in Arabic 8, 15, 29 Jun, 6, 20, 27 Jul, 3, 10, 17 Aug 81

/Article by Muhammad Rashwan: "A Calm Dialogue with the Opposition"/

/8 Jun 81 p 13/

/Text/ Mr Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, secretary general of the dissolved Wafd Party and former minister of the interior and finance, sent a message to President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat which the papers published. He used his constitutional rights as stipulated in Article 62 of the constitution, which states "Every person has the right to address the public authorities in writing (under their signature)," providing that we are living in the era of constitutional legitimacy and democracy, no matter what excesses there might be. From time to time the pasha tries to appear on the surface, after having become sated by hearing and seeing things, and he has made a number of attempts to revive the old Wafd Party and give speeches in the Lawyers' Union, but he forgot the maxim of almighty glorious God which states: "Say, God, yours is the dominion; you bring dominion to whom you want and take it away from whom you want?"

Mr Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din's message contained the statement that the contents of the president's speeches did not accord with proved historic facts. This is what I am trying to reply to in this article.

It is the pasha's right to defend his leader Mustafa al-Nahhas Pasha, out of loyalty as he was a partner of his in government. However, it is not his right to twist history's arm, since history does not forget or forgive.

The first question I will ask the pasha is:

"Who ruled Egypt before the 23 July revolution?" While we are on the subject of history, I remember a statement contained in Lord Cromer's memoirs which went, "We did not rule Egypt, but we ruled the people who did." That is, the English and colonialism ruled the old parties, including the Wafd. They ruled the palace which the king represented in a manner in which colonialism is well-versed and which the pasha knows. I do not believe that the pasha has been afflicted by failing memory, but I can remind him of a loathing I have lest he claim nationalism or heroism for a regime which time and history have judged corrupt.

Has the pasha forgotten that he issued an order for the arrest of President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat while he was minister of the interior and that the charge leveled against al-Sadat was the most noble one in history, that is, patriotism? They accused him of taking part in the murder of Amin 'Uthman Pasha, the Wafdist minister of finance, who was proud of saying "The relationship between Egypt and Britain and the 1936 treaty are eternal, like a Catholic marriage." Has the pasha forgotten that he issued orders for the arrest of patriots who were disrupting British security and attacking their camps and that he arrested the leaders of Misr al-Fatat, the Moslem Brothers and other parties?

While we are on this subject, we will ask the committee recording the history of the revolution to publish the documents of the political police reports which the pasha supervised and in accordance with which arrest orders were issued. This is the most eloquent reply to the pasha, who said that he was one of the men who fought the English in the battle of the canal in 1951.

Abrogation of the 1936 treaty, which you are bragging about, and which Mustafa al-Nahhas Pasha, the man of exalted status, called the treaty of honor and independence but everyone knows was a party maneuver "to embarrass the king" after you had become aware of the isolation of the cabinet--abrogation of the treaty was of no constitutional effect and had no effect in international law, since it was abrogated by one party. To you, the poet's statement applies: al-Farazdaq declared "if he were to be killed four times over that would be better news than great safety, oh you squatting on the throne."

After you abrogated the treaty, the English deployed themselves at the entrances to the canal towns and along the roads to the canal, inspecting cars, obstructing the security of the citizens and setting themselves up as the legitimate authority in the country, killing policemen and free officers in al-Isma'iliyah. You were squatting on the throne of power as the number of people in the occupation forces increased, but you did not adopt a single patriotic measure, although it was in your power, you who claim to be a patriot, to imprison a number of Englishmen in Cairo as hostages. You were worried about the throne of the regime, which had started shaking under you--an issue which had a postscript after the 23 July revolution, when three countries among them Britain, attacked Egypt in the 1956 aggression. Would that the revolution had arrested all the British soldiers and experts at the al-Isma'iliyah base and Tall al-Kabir! Your voice is raised now, but what was your response when King Faruq dismissed your cabinet on 8 October 1944 in his message dismissing the Wafd cabinet, stating the following?

"Since I have been anxious to have a democratic cabinet ruling my country which applies the constitution in letter and spirit, treating Egyptians equally in terms of rights and obligations and providing food and clothing for the people, we have considered it fitting to dismiss you from your position."

Would that you had responded when Ahmad Najib al-Hilali Pasha accused your cabinet of corruption and the following appeared in his speech accepting the formation of the cabinet:

"The regime has come to be hedged about by ill will, the seats of the representatives of the nation have become the object of bargaining and auctioneering, and we



are anxious to revive the codes of justice now that bribery, nepotism and commission-taking have become widespread in all the affairs of the country, among them government positions, which have become an open pasture for relatives and in-laws." What was your reply to that, your excellency the pasha, now that it has been testified to by a witness who was in it?

If you had talked about Egyptian morals and values, that in no way would mean political ignorance, but we do stand up to people who claim to be nationalistic and heroic at the expense of the people, who want to enter politics through the back door, and who feign ignorance of the 30 years of history of the July revolution.

I have been anxious in my article to convey to your ears and to the young people of Egypt some historic facts, among them the name given your last cabinet in the era of party corruption which was formed on 12 January 1950, that of "the government of Wafdist capitulation," when you gave in to all the wishes of the king. Do you remember, your excellency the pasha, King Faruq's decree appointing Mr 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan Pasha minister of state, which was issued on the royal yacht Fakhr al-Bahar in 1948 on the Isle of Capri, when you issued a constitutional ruling that the royal yacht was Egyptian territory?

In spite of that, yours was the cabinet of concessions, and King Faruq gave you a slap when the 27 January 1952 letter of dismissal stated:

"We are most regretful over the disturbances which have befallen the capital, as a result of which there have been losses of life and property. The cabinet's efforts were deficient, as a result of poor Security, and I have therefore considered it fit to excuse you from your position."

In conclusion, I do not claim to possess the expertise and political sagacity that you enjoy, but I can claim that I possess the ability to remove the dust from the legacy of the past and show the truth, and indeed it does not blind one's vision--it blinds the hearts in people's breasts.

/15 Jun 81 p 13/

/Text/ The issue I am raising with the chairman of the Labor Party is that of the pursuit of democracy and its relationship to the sovereignty of the law.

Article 65 of the constitution stipulates that the government is subject to the law. Article 40 of the constitution stipulates that the citizens are equal before the law, and I hope that Mr Ibrahim Shukri will agree with me that the May Revolution which President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat led has implanted the principles of the sovereignty of the law, which has become one of the basic guarantees of the people.

What prompted this subject was the discussion Mr Ibrahim Shukri made in a conference in Cairo when he reviewed the cases being heard by the judiciary, in which some deputy prime ministers were being tried, and also reviewed the withdrawal of

parliamentary immunity from some National Democratic Party members of the People's Assembly on the basis of requests by the socialist public prosecutor and the Office of the Public Prosecutor.

Mr Ibrahim Shukri furnished as proof of that the statement that what had occurred was a manifestation of the deviation of certain executive leaders or People's Assembly members.

Mr Ibrahim Shukri engaged in political activity before and after the July revolution. He read and heard of grave issues infringing on the probity of the regime, such as the case of the black book in the era of the Wafd cabinet and so forth. The agreement between the previous cabinets of the various parties was that they would not take one another to trial; indeed, the oriental secretary of the British Embassy would interrupt to stop his discussions on these subjects in order to protect party members who were cooperating with the English.

I hope that he will agree with me that the issues he has mentioned are the pride of President al-Sadat, who has propounded the sovereignty of the law, which has become a real fact. It is the government which requested the Office of the Public Prosecutor to promote the general cases against a certain minister, and it is the socialist public prosecutor, who had previously been portrayed by the opposition as a device for liquidating opposition views, who presented a demand for the withdrawal of immunity from a National Party People's Assembly member. This shows that when it gives its agreement to the withdrawal of immunity, the National Party parliamentary majority is an enlightened majority far removed from narrow party vision.

I hope to draw Mr Ibrahim Shukri's attention to the fact that reviewing the names of God's servants in a public conference before the judiciary issues its verdict against them is something that conflicts with the principle of the sovereignty of the law.

Since Article 67 of the constitution stipulates that accused persons are innocent until their guilt is proved and that what the chairman of the Labor Party resorted to was an act of political slander, I hope that he will review it, so that we can deeply implant the traditions of a chaste opposition.

We should all place the principle of the sovereignty of the law above party bickerings, and he should take part with us in deepening the democratic experiment. I call upon him to look at the statement by the prophet of God, on whom be God's blessings and mercy, who said "Your people who came before you would leave a nobleman if he stole from their midst but would impose flogging upon a weak person who stole from their midst." Consider, leader of the most intelligent.

In conclusion, I hope that we can all agree that we are going through a splendid democratic experiment, and I hope that we can place the judiciary authorities, in their sanctity, probity and justice, above the party struggle, returning grace to those who possess it. The declaration Mr Ibrahim Shukri made is an honor to President al-Sadat and the National Democratic party.

God is the master of success.

/29 Jun 81 p 4/

/Text/ I have used my political right to reply to some opposition articles, with objectivity and graceful discourse as my goal. I had expected that the reactions in these articles would be at the same level, so that we could thereby firmly implant the style of democratic practice. However, I was amazed when the newspaper AL-SHA'B burst upon us with a personal attack far removed from objectivity. This is what we call political bankruptcy. The article was also unsigned, and this is not a characteristic of literary courage.

It appears that my articles hit the opposition in a vulnerable spot. Their arrows flew wild, they became distressed, they imagined that no one could vie with them in argument, their pens became disturbed, and they abandoned the basic issues and sought refuge in calumny and insolence. Thus the mask was removed: they could not bear dissident opinions, but engaged in intellectual terrorism and brought us back to the era of the blackshirts.

Some people have asserted to me that Dr Hilmi Murad is the person who wrote the article. This does not concern me in any way. I remember that a parliamentary committee was formed following the events of 18-19 January 1977, one of whose members was Dr Hilmi Murad. A government official at that time told him, "I ask you to swear, Dr Hilmi, in trust to the knowledge you possess--is the government's economic policy of guiding consumption in keeping with scientific rules?" The doctor answered him, "It is, but you haven't learned how to play it right."

Therefore I tell Dr Hilmi, "Play with the people, or play with the rope--the mask has fallen off, you have been discovered, and the people have learned of your ability and significance."

The unknown writer of the article said that I had previously attacked Dr Hilmi Murad in an article in the newspaper AL-JUMHURIYAH. The story of that article is that I conveyed the facts on the expulsion of the minister Dr Hilmi Murad from the cabinet, quoting from an article written by one of the power centers, Mr 'Abd-al-Majid Farid, in the newspaper 23 JULY which is issued in London and financed by Iraq and Libya. Dr Hilmi could not deny these facts and mentioned that the government rewarded me for this article by appointing me head of the Public Transport Authority in Cairo, contrary to the stipulation of the law.

Dr Hilmi Murad reached the position of minister as a result of reports he wrote against his fellow university professors for the power centers. When he tried to engage in the same game against his colleagues in the cabinet, President 'Abd-al-Nasir found him out and dismissed him from the cabinet.

His excellency has penetrating powers. He has been a Nasirite, then a Wafdist, then a socialist in the Labor Party. This is where public opinion wonders about his abilities to shift opposing political beliefs.

If vindictiveness has blinded some people's vision, because they have not been able to endure the truth, I therefore state that Article 28 of the People's

Assembly Law stipulates that members of the People's Assembly may not take government positions unless the appointment is the result of a promotion or transfer from one body to another. Since I had occupied higher management positions in the chairmanship of companies, my appointment to head the Public Transport Authority, which resulted in no change in my salary, was tantamount to a transfer from one position to another.

When I acquired my colleagues' trust as People's Assembly vice chairman, I did not obtain any financial benefits--rather, my income dropped and I refused to take a minister's expense allowance, as stipulated for a People's Assembly vice chairman, because I originally received one from my original position.

As regard the Ward bus case, the purchase contract for this transaction was signed 10 months before I started work in the authority. In spite of that, legal measures were taken to preserve the authority's right to compensation.

The Japanese trams which disturb people living in villas and palaces belong to the people and not to him, and they have been the salvation of Cairo. They are the same model that is running in Alexandria and Heliopolis. The Simaf Company, which is in the public sector, has started manufacturing these trams in Egypt.

The articles by Mr Fayiz Halawah which you referred to and have kept, Mr Doctor, I responded to when they appeared, but my dear friend Mr Anis Mansur, may God be tolerant with him, to whom I delivered the response, promised me he would publish it and I have been waiting for that for 3 years.

I introduced advanced operating methods which solved many problems into the Public Transport Authority in Cairo, and these have been acknowledged by transportation experts in Cairo and World Bank experts. The calumny and slander you have resorted to will never damage me. I have chosen the path of national action and have defined my political approach toward the July and May Revolutions through belief in God and the nation.

You ask where the National Party stands with regard to the events of al-Zawiyah al-Hamra'. My answer to that is, where do you stand with regard to the man in the political street? Some of our political leaders who stayed in their places in Cairo departments for 77 hours collapsed with exhaustion; our political action was faster than all the schemes which had the security and safety in which the people of Cairo are living as their target.

In an article, Dr Hilmi Murad criticizes the budget allocated for Central Security, then, in another article, wonders where Central Security was.

The officers and men in Central Security played a splendid patriotic role. The easiest decision Mr Maj Gen Muhammad Nabawi Isma'il could have made was to shoot. Therefore I remind you of what the newspapers published some days after the events at dusk, and the contents of cables stating that there were 1,000 people killed and wounded as a consequence of the police firing on the masses. Sir, did you want a massacre in Cairo?



The minister of interior directed control operations in Greater Cairo with the highest degree of competence, wisdom and appreciation of responsibility. We do not need advice from coffee-house generals.

We are still hoping that your pens will be cleaned up and you will put your trust in God, change you inflammatory policy lest your hands be burned someday, and look at the constructive role of the opposition in civilized countries. Eternal Egypt is the mother of civilization.

Peace be upon those who follow guidance.

/6 Jul 81 p 4/

/Text/ Can we take up the issue of the Lawyers' Union?

Some people might reply that that is a professional issue concerning a specific group that has interests in common.

Therefore, I can reassure everyone that I will not address myself to the professional angle. The people who run the operation are the masters of their union, and, as the president said, the lawyers must correct their own conditions themselves. I will deal with the issue in general terms, especially since the opposition newspapers have dragged the union into the stock exchange of political auctioneering, while we had preferred that that be left to the people in it. The lawyers have studied constitutional law and political systems and do not need tutelage from certain people whose hearts are filled with rancor, people who have corrupted political life, or people who receive inspiration from outside Egypt, have become implicated and have sold national values at the lowest prices.

Through an investigation into the truth, scientific curriculum and the foundation-laying of the constitution, we find that in Section Three, related to public freedoms, rights and duties, Articles 55 and 56 of the constitution spell out the citizens' rights to form societies or establish trade unions and federations on a democratic basis. The law regulates the contribution of the unions and federations in carrying out social plans and programs.

Since the 1971 constitution was set forth in the context of the current Trade Union (Law 61 for 1968 on the Legal Profession), issued in the era of the Socialist Union and the authoritarian regime, and since it would be useful in laying the foundations for the legislators' ideas on the issue of the unions for me to return to the minutes of the preparatory committee which set out the draft of the constitution (the Committee on the Regime which was convened on 26 June 1971), we can find that the issue of the unions and federations was discussed under the title "mass organizations" and was the sole subject of important discussions.

In the minutes of the 12th committee to set out the draft constitution, the following appeared:

"The Lawyers' Union has not yet aspired to assist people who are unable to solve their problems; this has been left to the government. Moreover, it has not

established a higher institute to train lawyers or follow ways of raising the level of the profession and increasing its effectiveness in serving the people." It was also stated that we must base these organizations on sound democracy and the people's causes of production and service.

#### Comment

At a time when the resources of this union have increased and are now estimated at millions of pounds, this union has not offered social and economic services to its members, and the thousands of young people who have graduated in law can find no offices that will accept them for training or provide health services.

The union has contributed 1 million pounds to establish the Tradesmen's Bank, and one member of the board was appointed a member of this bank, raising doubts about exploitation of influence. Then the union deposited large amounts of money with the bank in savings bearing interest.

It would have been better had it built office complexes to sell to young lawyers in appropriate instalments, so that they could rise up the ladder of the legal profession in confidence and security. This could realize greater profits for the union than interest from banks.

Where can one find a lawyers' training institute building that is worthy of Egypt?

Where can one find a hospital for lawyers and medical services such as those offered by other unions?

Many facts show that the union's money is not put to use on behalf of the community of lawyers or the people, who contribute more than 30 percent of the union's revenues.

Is the money being set aside to invite a delegation of Arab lawyers to come to Egypt as observers at the trial of Ahmad Nabil al-Hilali, who is accused of being a communist?

Here the question arises: does the Egyptian judiciary need anyone to observe it?

Are there no lawyers in Egypt who can perform this mission without spending and squandering money?

All these questions, and more, are revolving about in the discussions on the budget and rejection of the budget by committees of lawyers in the National Democratic Party who want to discuss democracy inside their unions; it is apparent to them that the union's money has been spent for ends other than those which had been approved or has been spent without cause.

The 1968 Law on the Legal Profession, in Article 165, stipulates four categories of registration fees in the general table, starting with 20 pounds for lawyers in training and rising to 80 pounds for lawyers who have been accepted before the court of cassation. At the latest general assembly, the union raised the

registration fees in the general table, creating new classes according to age. For example, anyone wanting to register in the general table after 60 years of age will have to pay a fee of 1,000 pounds. This means that judges, who have given the best years of their youth to cases, upon being transferred to retirement, when their income dries up and their talents have become mature, will, wanting to continue the practice of law, find it impossible to raise this fee, and this means preventing elderly judges from registering in the general union table. This we call capriciousness in the use of rights. In addition, where will lawyers starting their careers get the money to pay the registration fee of 50 pounds, which used to be 20 pound, while the registration fee in the Physicians' Union is 5 pounds?

The union, or the general assembly, also raised the lawyers' stamp fees from 20 piasters on minor cases to 1 pound. That is, the stamp fee has been turned into an indirect tax. Likewise, other stamp fees have been raised five times over, though the union's budget shows millions in union savings. The union's exploitation of its powers in raising the fees and turning them into disguised taxes is something which requires a review of existing legislation on the tax situation.

Public sector lawyers who have agreed to work in government organizations, whose revenues are limited, do not receive care from their union, and the union does not grant them representation in the delegations traveling on the pilgrimage at the union's expense. Do you suppose they do not meet the conditions for defaming and slandering their country?

The union chief Mr Ahmad al-Khawajah points out that these men once backed him, but now the members of the union board mention them in words which I am embarrassed to utter. Perhaps you have heard them, your excellence the union chief, indeed have read these words in the newspaper AL-SHA'B and in articles by men of the law. I wonder about the application of Article 74 of the law, to the effect that lawyers must not swerve from the requisite respect for judges and their lawyer colleagues.

The newspaper AL-SHA'B refers to them with distasteful words; why doesn't the union congress meet and rise up in defense of these men, to protect their dignity?

Your excellency the union chief, you have formed a committee on freedoms; this is a civilized thing and we are happy with it. What did this committee do when Libya violated the sovereignty of the law and abrogated the legal profession, when human rights and dignity were violated in Iraq and Syria, when men, women and children were killed and flayed without trial? Where was your role in the Arab Lawyers' Federation; was this role restricted just to defiling Egypt and its people? Why have you violated Article Three of the union's bylaws, which regulate the system for summoning the general assembly calling it at night through the trick of presenting an hour for the general assembly to meet but ignoring the lawyers' right to read the publication of the invitation in two morning papers and to have a copy of the announcement tacked on the announcement boards in various grades of lawyers' rooms in the court complex? None of these conditions have been met, and here it is clear to us that the general assembly meeting which Mr Ahmad al-Khawajah headed has lost its legitimacy by failing to fulfil the legal procedures. To that one should add that no general assembly members were sent reports on the budget and budget chapters or statements of revenues, expenditures and projects to study, providing them with the reasons why they were rejected or accepted.

Chaining the doors of the union shut in the face of thousands of lawyers is a serious precedent which has not happened in any era or other professional union.

One matter which one must both laugh and cry over is the fact that the union opens its doors to marxists, Wafdists, people implicated with the Syrian and Iraqi Ba'th and other people who are not lawyers, such as Eng Mahmud al-Qadi, then closes them to lawyers in the public sector and the National Party. The Labor Party publication calls the latter's march on their union "a childish attack."

The Labor Party, seeking a stick to lean on, finds a ripe opportunity to enter the stage although it has no business in the matter.

Legal work is a fine art, and lawyers, by the nature of their work, bring forth ideas and arguments on the defense stage. Therefore, we ask why the union's board has eliminated the lawyers' real right to express their opinions, for the weak, feeble reason that the people who stood beyond the doors were not lawyers. The answer to that is, did you read the membership cards? How can one see the invisible? A member of the union stood up and described these colleagues as "riffraff," the loudspeakers were withdrawn from the members of the union council lest they comment on the budget, and the electricity was cut off so that the fans could be shut down and the lights shut off in the face of 2,000 lawyers.

The publications you issue will never form opinions. What will form opinions, rather, is the genuine right of every union member to express his opinion with complete freedom without being exposed to calumny, defamation, expulsion from the union or submission to a union disciplinary committee, as is happening now.

Indeed, the union needs a committee on freedoms, because union freedom and professional freedom are being violated within earshot of public opinion, which looks for shelter to this impregnable fortress.

It may be said that this discussion is an invitation to amend the Law on the Legal Profession. My answer to that is that this is something I have no control over, since it belongs to the legislative power, which is influenced by public opinion, especially since there have been draft amendments of laws on the legal profession in the assembly for more than a year. Whatever the situation may be, all the amendments must reassert democracy and union freedoms and set forth every guarantee to keep them from deviating like this union from their original mission, make them spend union funds for the sake of their members, and have the heads of the branch unions which are elected from the broad base of the lawyers represented on their board.

/20 Jul 81 p 4/

/Text/ The opposition still is the prisoner of the mentality, methods and programs of the prerevolutionary parties. The gap between the opposition and the political, economic and social developments we are experiencing is increasing every day and therefore it contradicts and stumbles in its political practices.



It imagines that we are looking for an advantage when we are performing our role in national action or stand up with an opinion on how to correct the mistakes to which it is falling prey. It measures things by the criteria it knows, which it exercised previously when some people in it resorted to legal or illegal means to achieve personal ends.

The National Democratic Party has thousands of conscious political leaders who are performing a splendid role and participating devoutly in the course of national action in various fields, among the masses, without compensation, because we believe in the statement of almighty glorious God:

"We will not cause a person who has worked well to lose his wages."

It appears that Dr Hilmi Murad, the former minister, who is trying to cast aspersions on me, does not want to abandon Machiavellian thinking.

Therefore I consider it my duty to expose the cheap method to which he resorted in his recent articles, when I was abroad.

He asked whether I had received a ruling from the party to be the party's official spokesman, since I am engaged in writing in MAY, the newspaper of our great party.

He imagined, in ignorance, that that would expose me to problems with the party leaders.

I can assure his excellency that our great party does not impose tutelage in our writers or thinkers. We exercise political dialogue within the party freely and most democratically, but we are not disciples like you. To us, the minority respects the opinion of the majority and commits itself to it. President al-Sadat told us that all National Party members have the same rights and duties as those stipulated for the chairman of the party, as far as political movement among the masses goes.

Here I raise a question: Who asked Dr Murad to give us advice?

His excellency was previously the loyal advisor and counsellor to Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din (Pasha) when he held the position of vice chairman of the New Wafd Party. The party's demise lay in his blessed hands. I hope that the Labor Party, which I sincerely hope will continue and long survive, will not meet the same destiny.

The doctor talked about the first vice chairman and the second vice chairman of the People's Assembly, out of the notion that that would create a rift between me and my colleague Mr Muhammad 'Abd-al-Hamid Radwan.

I challenge the gentleman (who is a man of the law) to tell us where these titles came from and where they can be found in the constitution or the People's Assembly bill.

We, sir, are working through the People's Assembly board commission under the leadership of Dr Sufi Abu Talib, chairman of the assembly, with the utmost coordination, in a deep understanding of our constitutional responsibility.

Dr Hilmi Murad meant to say that someone wrote the last article on the Lawyers' Union for me. I do not believe that the gentleman is complaining of a lapse of memory; I argued with him and replied to him in the People's Assembly when I was occupying the position of parliamentary representatives for several constituencies. The gentleman tried to confront Mr Ahmad Shinan, head of the Lawyers' Union in Cairo and ask him if he was the person who had written the articles for me. The union head gave him a lesson on the limits of polite discourse and differences in age, and I hope that Dr Hilmi Murad has absorbed that lesson.

Is legal culture, which is taste and fine art, prohibited to people who are not in the law?

I have been working in a legislative body for more than 10 years, representing the people. This is through God's grace, which God brings to those whom he wants, for God is the possessor of great grace.

The doctor talked about the National Party's immense activity in Cairo and the political organizations spread about everywhere. He wondered if that was to satisfy the party leaders.

I can tell you frankly that you have brought happiness to my spirit, because I found you following up on our political activity in Cairo, as if you had left the Labor Party and were devoting yourself full time to the National Democratic Party. I have a question here; isn't it my duty sincerely to work for the party to which I have committed myself? Is being sincere a trait that you do not believe in? Sir, we can return to the statement of the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace:

"God wishes that if any of you does a deed, he does it proficiently."

The chief of the Lawyers' Union, Mr Ahmad al-Khawajah, held a party to end the day's fast attended by the elite of his supporters in the union building, but refused to invite lawyers who might have opinions at variance with his. The discussion at this Ramadan occasion was not on the virtues of the fast month but on my humble person, though I was absent and could not reply.

Do you not see the statement of almighty God:

"If any of you wished to eat the meat of his dead brother, you would hate him."

It is acceptable when Mr Ibrahim Shukri talks about the Lawyers' Union, though he is an agricultural engineer, because what he says goes with the wind.

However, when Muhammad Rashwan talks, that is to be rejected, because he is not a man of the law; God has his ideas regarding his people.

Mr Khawajah, the union chief, became agitated when he learned about the People's Assembly decree selecting me to be chairman of the fact-finding committee, since I expressed a view on the subject of the Lawyers' Union in the press. He imagined

that it was not permissible for me to assume the chair of this committee, which changed its decree when I was abroad.

I would like to tell the union chief that this committee's activity is political investigation; it is not a judiciary fact-finding committee, because our constitution adheres to the system of separation of powers. I will also direct his attention to the fact that the chairman of the political factfinding committee, which includes two opposition representatives, is the man who organizes its activities but he is not the chief of a court to whom one can reply. In addition, the committee chairman hides no opinions from anyone, and the factfinding committees' reports are subject to oversight by the People's Assembly, the body that makes the decisions and expresses the opinions on the discussion. This is what we call parliamentary democracy.

You spoke about the People's Assembly's right to discuss the subject of the Lawyers' Union, which you called interference in its affairs. I would like to draw your attention to Article Three of the Constitution, which stipulates that sovereignty belongs to the people, who are the source of authority and who alone can exercise this sovereignty.

Isn't it the right of parliament, which is a representative of the people, to conduct surveillance over the Lawyers' Union's funds since they are considered tantamount to public funds by the definition included in Law 35 for 1972 on the protection of public funds?

It may be the Lawyers' Union's right to discuss a national issue in order to realize a public benefit but not a personal goal. However, the union has gone beyond all objective bounds and has formed a political society with a regular opposition slant from some of its members consisting of Wafdists, marxists and some independents. The political symposiums which the Lawyers' Union holds are quoted the same day on Tripoli Radio. Can you imagine that al-Qadhdhafi is concerned about freedom in Egypt, since that is what his people have totally lost, or is he the Rejection Front attorney for the Lawyers' Union?

The union, by its political practices, has been transformed into a front which has assumed the form of an illegal party, thereby violating the Party Law and the National Unity Law--indeed, more than that, the Iraqi and Syrian Ba'th Parties (which do not agree at all) have agreed that the person of Prof Ahmad al-Khawajah should be an Egyptian opposition representative in the office of the Federation of Arab Lawyers.

Doesn't this merit intervention from the People's Assembly in order to examine the facts and present them to the people, who are sovereign and to whom the oversight of execution of the laws has been entrusted? Or would you like to turn the union into a collection of back rooms and secrets the people are not permitted to know about? The union derives its legitimacy from the law issued by the People's Assembly.

At every conference he holds, Mr Ibrahim Shukri refers to what he calls "the vicious attack on the opposition by the ruling party." The followers of the

Labor Party have started mimicing these expressions, but this repetitious drama has failed to stir up the masses, which are known for their awareness. The National Democratic Party does not go near the opposition's conferences, papers or headquarters, so we do not know whether it wants the National Democratic Party to give the Labor Party, for example, morning expenses every day.

I hope that the Labor Party chairman will ask his professor of political action, Prof Ahmad Husayn, whether the Misr al-Fatat Party complained to him about acts of aggression by the Wafd Party, and will also ask him about the Wafdist units that burned down and destroyed such opposition papers as ROSE AL-YUSUF, AKHBAR AL-YAWM, the newspaper AL-SIYASAH and AL-KASHKUL. It is strange that yesterday's enemies should be the friends of today, now that the Labor Party has made an alliance with the Wafdists.

The opposition has an important, vital role to play in the democratic system, but if it exploits democracy improperly the arena will be disrupted and abandoned to political chaos. Here I cite a statement which appeared in a book by Mr Homayun Kabir, former minister of culture in the Indian government, titled "Knowledge, Democracy and Islam":

"On some occasions, the minority arrogates to itself a monopoly on the wisdom that exists in society. That might be proper for a short period, but history gives no record of a minority governing harmoniously on behalf of society; its justifications are often for special objectives."

In conclusion, I derive inspiration from the call of the prophet of God, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, to guide us along the right path:

"By God, I will protect you from knowledge which is of no benefit, labor which does not uplift and hearts which are not humble."

/27 Jul 81 p 4/

/Text/ Public opinion is one of the basic elements of political science and administration. It has become necessary for legitimate institutions to protect it from destructive elements which twist facts or disrupt social peace.

Parties are national podiums which help fashion public opinion through their press and their conferences. Can we pause before this issue, lest we get drawn into the struggles and negative aspects of the past regarding negative party practices which could destroy rather than think of building, or even lead to alliances with the devil, although we know that glorious almighty God has warned us of that through his statement "The devil has been a clear enemy of man?"

This does not mean that we are telling the opposition what its role is. This is the task of the constitution and the law, and the methods they choose. Rather, we are addressing public opinion and presenting exhortation and advice, guiding ourselves by the words of glorious almighty God:



"Call people wisely and with good exhortation to your lord's path and fight them with superior values." Before I deal with the issue of the opposition front and the conflicting groups within it, I would like to mention the constitutional plebiscite which took place in April 1979 on the peace treaty and the reorganization of the government. It spoke of the need to eliminate party corruption, clean up political life and commit oneself to moral conduct, and mentioned that anyone deviating from the results of this constitutional plebiscite was deviating from the consensus of the nation and the will of the people.

How was the opposition front formed? Who stands behind its formation? What are its goals?

I thought of dealing with this subject when I was visited by the Cairo correspondent for the American magazine TIME. A discussion took place between us on democratic practices in Egypt, which is a new experiment in the Middle East, an area dominated by authoritarian regimes.

I was struck by his emphasis on the subject of the Egyptian opposition front and the groups in it, in addition to the newspapers that appear on the Arab stage and derive pleasure from slandering Egypt; fishing in troubled waters imparts political dimensions to this subject which are at variance with the true state of affairs.

The world is following our pioneering political experiment now that Egypt has adopted a multi-party system, has granted freedom of the press and has abrogated exceptional laws and measures. We believe that the presence of an enlightened national opposition is the true guarantor of political democracy and that the fact that the National Democratic Party holds political power offers a golden opportunity for the opposition to build itself wisely, if it will take the nature of the development of things into account and realize that leaping over fences in haste to arrive at the seats of power will not lengthen people's lives or realize goals, but could cause shock in people's minds.

In the past issues, the newspaper AL-SHA'B published opposition front resolutions without declaring the front's nature and political form. Public opinion may think that the Labor Party holds the reins of this front, but in fact it is no more than a cart drawn by Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, chairman of the Grouping Party.

A correspondent with the Lebanese newspaper AL-SAFIR held an interview with Mr Khalid Muhyi-al-Din last February in which the latter revealed for the first time that there was coordination between himself and Dr Mahmud al-Qadi, former People's Assembly member, who is trying to form the National Front Party. This interview revealed that Dr Mahmud al-Qadi set forth a draft plan to form an opposition political party in Egypt and that Khalid Muhyi-al-Din welcomed this plan and introduced some modifications into it.

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din declared:

"As a result of contacts and meetings between the Grouping Party and other forces, we feel that the ground has been laid for front activity to create radical changes

in Egypt." He then added, "Nothing that happens in the opposition can happen without the Grouping Party."

We observe that the words Khalid Muhyi-al-Din used, the phrase "front action," is an expression used in communist parties in the Arab nation; we find no equivalent for it in the Egyptian political lexicon.

Why has the Grouping Party welcomed this coalition?

The Grouping Party was formed at the end of 1976 out of organizations on the Egyptian left. It was joined by the first pioneers of the Communist Party in Egypt, Hadetu, which was headed by the Jew Henri Curiel, who was found murdered in Paris last year. The first rift occurred in the party when Mr Muhammad 'Abd-al-Sami', elected secretary general of the Grouping Party, resigned and revealed the methods the communist members were using to dominate the assets of the party totally. A large number of young party people resigned along with him.

The Nasirites also felt frustrated because they did not acquire a prominent role in the party's political action, especially after the death of Mr Kamal Rif'at.

The security agencies discovered communist cells that had become involved with agents abroad and a large number of Grouping party leaders were removed in Cairo and some governorates and arrested for flagrant violations which were punishable by law.

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din complained to an official about the numerous cases the security agencies had brought, and the resulting arrest of many party leaders by the Office of the Public Prosecutor. When he asked him a question on the extent to which he was convinced that such measures had been taken, and whether the law had been carried out, his answer was "It is unfortunate that all the measures the minister of interior is taking are legal."

From this brief review, we can imagine the state the Grouping Party has reached in throwing confusion into its members, as well as the financial disputes resulting from rumors of the appearance of some deviation in the party and the threats Khalid Muhyi-al-Din resorted to last year of resigning and going into seclusion in Alexandria for a while. This has all caused the Grouping Party leaders to resort to new tactics to make up for the ground the party has lost. It stumbled on a starting point by cooperating with Dr Mahmud al-Qadi, who is good at political maneuvering; he managed to exploit the counsellor Mumtaz Nassar, his colleague in the National Front, to influence Mr Ibrahim Shukri to get the Labor Party to join this so-called front. He succeeded in that, and then it subsequently became easy to get the detachments of the dissolved Wafd Party or certain independents who were looking for leaders to join this front.

The front spread the rumor that some religious forces, including the Moslem Brothers, had joined it. We were fully prepared for this, since the brothers are shrewder than that internally contradictory group. In addition, the publication AL-DA'WAH, in its issue last June, leveled much criticism against Mr Ibrahim Shukri for his visit to Damascus and directed an embarrassing question at him on his

opinion of the massacres to which the Moslem Brothers were exposed in Syria at the hands of Hafiz al-Asad and his myrmidons. He has not yet answered this question.

Coordination between this front and the dissolved Lawyers' Union has been extensive, since some fugitive opposition groups have formed an alliance with rejection forces in the Arab world. This is apparent through the similar tones of resolutions the Egyptian opposition movement has issued and all that is being broadcast from Tripoli, Damascus and Baghdad and published in their newspapers.

Mr Ibrahim Shukri appears to be happy to be heading up this front, although he has not studied the grievous effects to which the Labor Party is exposed, among them the fact that he is monopolizing decision making without getting the agreement of the Labor Party conference to this political procedure. Khalid Muhyi-al-Din's presence at recent Labor Party conferences has disclosed the extent of the coordination and cooperation between the Labor Party and the Grouping.

I told the correspondent with the American magazine TIME "This party grouping of opposition members and some independents has revealed the true nature of these parties, which is that the ideologies they adhere to differ; they are friends today, because of their transitory interests, but enemies tomorrow."

The Labor Party has also revealed the true nature of its political weakness; otherwise, why would it have formed a front with the leftist Grouping Party? In addition, the latter, the Grouping Party, which claims to have party bases everywhere, has also revealed the deteriorated nature of the political structure of the party. In addition, the independents who have joined the rear of the caravan have revealed their intellectual incompetence. It is just a matter of gathering up little microphones on behalf of fugitive groups so that voices can be joined and made to appear to be loud, now that they have failed in mass action.

I will deal with one of the resolutions issued by the opposition front's second conference:

"Condemnation of the events of al-Zawiyah al-Hamra' which threaten national unity, over which the opposition front is most concerned."

I find no problem in commenting on this resolution except in referring to the issues of the Arabic newspaper AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that were issued last week, declaring, on the front page, in large type, "Terrible Street War in Britain--London Is at Its Nerves' End--Disturbances in London Assume Racist Form Following Strangling of Pakistani Moslem Woman--500 Dead and Wounded; Arrests in the Thousands--Police Department Wrecked in Birmingham--British Government Tries To Issue Legislation To Facilitate Its Task and Establish Special People's Courts."

On page two of the same paper, issued on 1 July 1981, there is a complete journalistic report under the title:

"Who is the loser in the sectarian events in Cairo?"

The article is full of slander and lies, but we will quote the last paragraph, which states:

"The Egyptian political front of various opposition elements is putting the final touches on the flaming canvas of sectarian struggle." The Arab papers which give prominence to the opposition viewpoint and beat its drums have bluntly accused the opposition of throwing oil on the fire. Here, the question immediately arises: is this your role, and what have you offered, gentlemen, in support of national sovereignty?

It would be better for you to throw your front's resolutions into the wastebasket. You look at the mote in Egypt's eye even though, thank God, nothing like the destructive disturbances that have shaken Britain, which is distinguished by political stability, has happened.

You are great, Egypt, but on your soil you harbor people who are trying to ruin your honor.

Could we call on these fugitives for guidance while we are in the fast month? "God, guide us along the straight path, the path of those on whom you have shown mercy, not those who are the object of wrath or the wayward."

In coming articles I will follow up on the remaining resolutions of the so-called front so we can come up with a reply to the questions I set forth at the beginning of the discussion. My success lies only with God; on him have I relied and to him do I turn in repentance.

/3 Aug 81 p 4/

/Text/ In last week's article, we revealed, through calm, honest analysis, the secrets of the formation of the opposition front, through documents and objective facts, and the manner in which Dr Mahmud al-Qadi managed to ally himself with Mr Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, chairman of the Grouping Party, to form an opposition front to enable the Grouping Party to regain the ground it had lost. After that Dr al-Qadi made another deal, and the Labor Party joined this alliance in exchange for letting Mr Ibrahim Shukri become a leader of this front.

How did the adversaries of yesterday turn into the allies of today? How did the Labor Party become the cart drawn by Khalid Muhyi-al-Din and Dr Mahmud al-Qadi? Here we raise a question, in hopes that Mr Ibrahim Shukri might remember things, rethink the deal that has been made, and review the profit and loss account.

What is Dr Mahmud al-Qadi's opinion on the Labor Party?

In the 28th session, on 31 January 1979, as he was following up on the government's statement, Dr al-Qadi declared the following:

"The Labor Party has been established, you have endorsed it, the president has endorsed it, and you must be satisfied with it, as you are the people who are choosing your supporters and opponents."

Mr Ibrahim Shukri answered him, stating, "One cannot rely on the persons who greeted the establishment of the Labor Party or greeted it--ours is an objective



opposition. As regards the National Party's welcome for the establishment of the Labor Party, we consider that this welcome is an endorsement for us." Dr Mahmud al-Qadi followed this reply by saying "When I hear what you say, I believe you; when I see what you do, I am amazed."

While we are recording the Labor Party's political positions, we find that at the 61st session (the session of 10 April 1979) Mr Ibrahim Shukri, in discussing the peace agreement, recorded the Labor Party's agreement, indeed extreme enthusiasm, by saying the following:

"In the name of the Socialist Labor Party, I declare our approval of the agreement-- approval by a person who has made a careful study and become won over, not the approval of a blowhard; the approval of a person who determines what is possible and what must be done in the future; the approval of a person who determines that the coming stages will be much more tortuous than the stages we have gone through. This all requires support, so that we may make this step which has been taken the start of the peace process. We approve of the agreement, but our joy will be consummated when we take over al-'Arish, al-Tur, the passes and all of Sinai. Greetings to the people of Egypt and greetings to the man who made the decision on 6 October and the man who made the peace initiative."

Ibrahim Shukri, chairman of the Labor Party, then stood up in the People's Assembly in the 17 January 1980 session, in the discussion on the government's economic and foreign policy, supporting this policy, praising the Egyptian economy, giving the Labor Party's complete trust to the National Democratic Party government, and praising the democracy and the dialogue which had manifested itself during discussion of the government statement.

Through these numerous stands, we find that Mr Ibrahim Shukri praises the National Democratic Party's greeting, considers that an endorsement of which he should be proud, and supports the peace treaty with all his strength, out of conviction and careful study. Then he most objectively supports the government's policy. Why then did the winds and tempests blow and turn the Socialist Labor Party from a purposeful, objective opposition into one absolutely rejecting everything and bickering? Indeed, it got to the point of alliance with the leftist Grouping Party and fugitive opposition groups which have neither color nor flavor.

Mr Ibrahim Shukri--not, I believe, because of his poor memory--ignores the political principles and positions to which he committed himself as the party's representative before the legislative body and public opinion. He is crying crocodile tears today over the democracy he praised yesterday, which is gaining new ground every day. We have the right to ask why he has turned around like this. Almighty glorious God says "Whoever turns completely around harms God in some way, and God will bless those who are grateful."

The peace treaty which the Labor Party blessed has achieved its objectives and is on the verge of returning all of Sinai to Egyptian sovereignty, and not just al-'Arish, as Mr Ibrahim Shukri had wished. Egypt remains the political power that is objectively defending the Palestinian cause, rallying world public opinion



against Israel now that the Arab nation has tried the policy of rejection for half a century to no avail.

If we make an analysis of the state the Socialist Labor Party has come to, we will find that a few members of the Misr al-Fatat Party took over the leadership of the party, considering themselves the owners of its legacy, opinions and all party rights; through this group, the decree was issued appointing Dr Hilmi Murad vice chairman of the party by means other than those stipulated by the rules of the Labor Party's bylaws--nor was the opinion of the parliamentary body, which was composed of 30 People's Assembly members, taken.

This has caused fragmentation within the party. One result of this has been resignation of 13 deputies. Mr Ibrahim Shukri tried to hang his mistakes on the National Democratic Party hanger, saying that these deputies were a burden on the Labor Party, ignoring that they were national leaders who helped establish the Socialist Labor Party, provide it with legitimacy and round out the legal quorum. They even begrudged these men words of loyalty and comradeship! The Labor Party charged that that was a conspiracy we had devised, although the deputies resigned to express their rejection of the party's policies and the abyss matters had reached; they have not presented applications for membership in the National Democratic Party.

The appointment of Dr Hilmi Murad marked the beginning of the coordination between him and Dr Mahmud al-Qadi to link the Labor Party to the detachments of the opposition in Egypt and the rejection forces abroad, in the Arab countries. One sign of this was Ibrahim Shukri's visit to Damascus, which was the subject of condemnation in public opinion, then the flood of interviews the gentleman gave to the press issued in the Arab countries, including the interview which the MANAR PRESSE held with him in Damascus, published by the Lebanese paper AL-SAFIR last May, in which Mr Ibrahim Shukri stressed the relationships of coordination and alliance with the National Progressive Unionist Grouping. What strikes one is the following question the editor posed to Mr Ibrahim Shukri:

"The opposition forces in Egypt consider that it is possible to do away with Camp David and the peace treaty, on condition that that be preceded by the elimination of the regime in Egypt; what is your position on this matter and the way to attain power?"

Mr Ibrahim Shukri, who was minister in this regime 3 years ago and shared in ministerial power and responsibility did not denounce the question, which was full of poison; rather, he gave a devious reply, stating that he would resort to enlightening the Egyptian people, and claimed that his party would put pressure on public opinion so that that could be achieved.

I can reassure Mr Ibrahim Shukri that public opinion in Egypt is too shrewd to accept inspiration or enlightenment from the Baghdad-Damascus network; we are more aware of our interests and higher affairs than the people who rule their people by iron and fire.

After Dr Mahmud al-Qadi had fulfilled his mission in the Labor Party, he infiltrated the Lawyers' Union, used its headquarters and telephones for his activity, and

succeeded in rounding out his schemes to turn the union into a fifth party to the rejection front, although he had lost legitimacy.

Dr al-Qadi lost the position of Alexandria Federation Club chairman then lost his position in the People's Assembly, and yearned for the limelight. That is his right, but we fear that the price once again was the Labor Party. His precious, valuable advice brought about the end of the New Wafd Party; might the result of these political maneuvers be the preparation of the groundwork for the establishment of the National Front Party, which he heads, after the existing opposition parties are struck down?

Mr Ibrahim Shukri enjoys our good will because of his national action, but we are afraid that he will squander this good will in a massacre of untenable claims and that the new alliance will push him into a deep bottomless pit. We hope that the gentleman will review his calculations and seek the advice of sincere persons.

To return to the right party is a virtue, and your friend is the person who is truthful with you, not the person who believes you.

At the end of this instalment of the dialogue, I would like to stress that my goal is not to defame the opposition and its cavalades but to reveal the errors and contradictions to which they have succumbed, which have been recorded in their statements in the People's Assembly or in the newspapers published on their behalf abroad. The internal crises these parties are passing through in their political identity cannot be remedied at the expense of the National Democratic Party or by accusing it of launching a vicious attack on the opposition or repressing it.

The National Party calls for a strong national opposition that can set Egypt and the Country's higher interests above personal passions and be the axis of competition over the important issues that concern the people, but that will never come about through political maneuvers which time has effaced, alliance with Arab rejection forces or conversion of the opposition into domestic mouthpieces for these forces, or by offering the masses illusions on a big plate and leaving them to drool in a political void in which the opposition is dominant.

On concluding the following sections of the dialogue, we would like to conduct a review within ourselves so that the opposition may rearrange its accounts and review the result of its wanderings, examining the truth so that it may ultimately be judged by the masses, the party with the real interest, so that public opinion will be able clearly to see who has guided the way. Happy holidays.

/10 Aug 81 p 4/

/Text/ The past 2 weeks, I have dealt with the marriage that took place between the leftist Grouping Party and the Socialist Labor Party, "from which there emerged the newborn baby" which has been called "the Egyptian rejection front."

In this article, we will take up a discussion of the subject of the dissolved Wafd Party which is still run and operated by Fu'ad Pasha Siraj-al-Din along with the remnants of the Wafd, using the same old political methods the old parties

engaged in before the July revolution. Political signs do not show that the Pasha has joined a political alliance with the front; he is not pleased with Ibrahim Shukri's leadership of the opposition front, since he considers himself greater than that, and the rivalry between him and its two parties cannot be ignored. The last Wafdist cabinet of 1950, in which the pasha played the role of minister of interior, was called the White Cabinet, and Fu'ad Pasha, the interior minister, called the socialists and leftists "the red gang" and issued orders for the arrest of their leaders.

Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din came to power with the speed of light in 1942, the sixth al-Nahhas cabinet, although he had no good will within the national movement or in the ranks of the Wafd. He managed to get rid of Makram 'Ubayd Pasha, Sa'd Zaghlul's comrade in arms and the minister of finance in the first al-Nahhas cabinet of 1928. The pasha reached the ministry because of the family connections and money he possessed.

Here we will pause to review the pasha's method of governing. Did he believe in freedom of the press, the sanctity of parliamentary experience and respect for the constitution, democracy and opposition rights? Did he protect the domestic economy, national independence, and the nation's repute at home and abroad? Or did he violate all these sacred values in order to satisfy the king and his corrupt retinue and ensure his survival in power?

Modern writers, including Mr Ahmad Baha'-al-Din, in his book "Faruq as King," have written that the last Wafdist cabinet was the cabinet of capitulation to the king, that it carried out his demands, and that the structure of the old Wafd began gradually to deteriorate.

In 1950, Mustafa Bey Mar'i, member of the Senate, presented a request for information on the acquisition by Karim Thabit Pasha, of Lebanese origin, who was press advisor to the king, of 5,000 pounds from the Charity Society, the manipulation of traffic in arms, and the bad ammunition bought for the Egyptian army during the Palestine war. Muhammad Husayn Haykal Pasha was the chairman of the Senate then. Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din spoke as a representative of the government, saying "The ministry has investigated the arms deal and the investigation has denied responsibility for anyone who had a hand in this matter." He refused to have the Senate form a fact-finding committee, then warned the Senate chairman that he had observed that the chairman's seat was shaking and defended the conduct of Karim Thabit and the retinue, as a result of which the chairman of the Accounting Bureau resigned in protest against the government's actions. What was the result of this request for information? The government obtained a decree from the king terminating the membership of 19 members of the Senate, including the chairman of the Senate, the man who had presented the request for information, Mustafa Bey Mar'i, Lutfi Pasha al-Sayyid, and others.

When the Wafdist cabinet refused to make some minor financial allocations to support the noble al-Azhar, at a time when it was showering millions of pounds on the palace and the king's retinue, the senior imam and the shaykh of the al-Azhar mosque, His Eminence Shaykh 'Abd-al-Majid Salim, who was unanimously considered to be a man of knowledge, a man of virtue and a sublime scholar, wrote an article titled:



"Stinginess here and profligacy there." What was the Wafd's wisdom in issuing a decree dismissing the shaykh of al-Azhar Mosque without an investigation?

In the pasha's era, a law was issued prohibiting the broadcasting of news on the palace; Mr Muhammad Zaki 'Abd-al-Qadir described this as a blatant violation of the constitution. In addition, a Wafdist deputy presented three drafts of laws which were submitted to parliamentary committees to restrict freedom of the press.

As a result of this corruption and aggression against freedom and the constitution, some members of the opposition, including Hafiz Ramadan Pasha, 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Rafi'i, Shaykh 'Ali 'Abd-al-Raziq, Dassuqi Abazah Pasha, and others, presented the king with a petition stating "We want to tell you frankly, out of concern for respect for God and the nation, that the Wafdist cabinet is satisfying the retinue in order to guarantee that it will stay in power. The belief prevails that the parliamentary system has become mere ink on paper, we are afraid that the country is becoming faced with financial, political and moral corruption, and we sincerely hope that the regime will be cleaned out along with the people who have harmed the country and its reputation, have eliminated Egypt's awe and esteem, have failed to allow its freedom to grow and have destroyed everything beyond the point of destruction. All Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, the minister of the interior, had to do was issue an order prohibiting publication of this petition in the newspapers, confiscate the papers which published it, order the arrest of the people distributing the papers and put them in prison. Fu'ad Pasha Siraj-al-Din described the people who presented this petition as criminals and traitors. The matter reached its climax on January 25, 1952 with the aggression by British occupation forces against the Governorate of al-Isma'iliyah and the Security Department, when the officers and soldiers who died in the battle died; had the Wafdist cabinet had the least sense of self-respect, it would have resigned from its position in order to preserve the dignity of the regime, as Sa'd Zaghlul did when he received a warning from Lord Allenby, the British high commissioner, after the murder of the commanding general and offered the resignation of the cabinet to preserve the dignity of the regime. These are examples of the political practice of the Pasha and his cabinet. There is no enmity between me and the Wafd, and I had no part in political life before the revolution, thank the lord; nor was I "plotting" against the Wafd. The facts that appear in this dialogue have their legitimate sources, including "The History of Egyptian Cabinets" issued by AL-AHRAM's Center of Political and Strategic Studies, the book "Political Movement" by the professor and counsellor Tariq al-Bishri, "The Trial of the Constitution" by Prof Muhammad Zaki 'Abd-al-Qadir, and so forth. Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din Pasha's only good attribute was that the unsuccessful Wafd cabinet policy in which corruption and exploitation were rife, in whose era positions were assumed by relatives and in-laws, and the government capitulated to the king and his appetites helped escalate the revolution in public opinion, and this paved the way, although the Pasha did not know it, for the warm popular reception by which the people greeted the July revolution 6 months after the dismissal of the last al-Nahhas cabinet. These examples, which are a few of many, reflect the Pasha's tendency to commit aggression against democracy and the constitution. What inspires amazement is the fact that the Pasha emerged after the 15 May revolution, infiltrated the Lawyers' Union and gave a lecture which he published in a book on democracy, political freedom and the Wafd's patriotic efforts; the Pasha did not neglect to distort every achievement of the July



revolution. We do not know the secret behind the harmony between the Pasha, who stands on the far right and reaction, and the former union chief Ahmad al-Khawajah, the man of extreme socialist ideas, who, had it not been for the July revolution, would not have reached the position of union head. We do not know how this deal was made and what the conditions behind it were, converting the pasha into the first advisor to the dissolved Lawyers' Union, helping to draw up its plans and choosing some of its members--indeed, choosing the names of people to represent Egypt in the Arab Federation of Arab Lawyers. We hope that time will shed light on all these questions! No sooner did the July revolution take place and the Wafd made sure that the king had been expelled than the Pasha hastened, along with the late Mustafa al-Nahhas Pasha, to the Revolutionary Command Council to bless and support it, thinking that the revolution had taken place just to expel the king.

The decree on Law 179 for 1952 was issued by the Revolutionary Command Council organizing political parties. These parties were requested to organize their ranks in a manner compatible with the new regime and to remove everyone from their ranks to whom acts of exploitation of influence or illegal gain were attributed by the cabinet or other persons; the Pasha was gladdened by the law and exploited it to purge the Wafd Party of his political adversaries and remain at the pinnacle of the summit himself. However, the July revolution was not so politically stupid as to hand the reins over to everyone who had corrupted life.

The May revolution's role was to deepen political life; the constitution became the legitimate document of the regime, concentration camps were shut down, and the sequestrations were abrogated. The Pasha regained his money and political freedom and hastened to form the New Wafd Party and the Pasha's palace turned into a political club where he exerted temptations of every kind to get members of the People's Assembly to join his ranks, so that he could fill up the quorum for the new party. The members of the parliamentary committee of the New Wafd Party included communists, Moslem Brothers, Nasirists, Wafdists and others, and it was not possible for this internally contradictory group to get along or act in harmony, it exploded from within, and the Pasha gathered up the Wafdist committee and issued a decree dissolving the party because it had not learned the lessons.

#### Question

What is the opinion of 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan Pasha on the May revolution? He is a man who is capable of speaking and is a prominent figure in the Wafd Party.

At the 19th session in 1977 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan Pasha said the following:

"I declare, in the loudest voice, my full and total support for the president, Mr Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat--full support which will not admit of conditions, restrictions, or reservations, as with every step he is succeeding in implanting the buttresses of democratic freedom. I support him by my sight, my perspicacity, my blood and the blood of my children. We are living in a real, true democratic climate and I am afraid to say that whoever ignores or denies that is blindfolded or has a bandage over his eyes and must take it off so that he can see and find his way."

The May revolution took place in order to correct some of the errors of the July revolution and some of the excesses which occurred as a result of the power centers, but that cannot make us forget the great achievements of the revolution, which succeeded where the Wafd Party and other parties that had exercised control for decades had failed, offering the people nothing but false hope and political anesthesia.

The revolution took place and did away with all that, returning their dignity and their legitimate share of social justice and the national income to the workers and peasants, because they were the party with the real interests. Are you surprised that the Pasha condemns the fact that they have a 50 percent share of the constitutional institutions and is aware of the contradiction and incompatibility in political thinking between himself and this national regime, between himself and the parties of the opposition front, but participates in the context of the political maneuver and the coincidence of tentative interests in order to damage this regime and cooperate with the opposition?

The awareness of the people, the firmness of their domestic front, and their support for their national leadership, the leader of this nation and the commander of its victory, President al-Sadat, are the true guarantee of social peace, national unity and political stability, and we can tell all of these people, "If talk is silver and silence is golden, and you love gold, say what is proper and accept it, and the people will accept it from you."

This article is for the young people of today and I hope tomorrow first of all. Though people who dream of power are smitten with failing memory, history will not forget.

In the coming article we will complete the dialogue, with God's permission.

/17 Aug 81 p 4/

/Text/ In the preceding instalments of this dialogue, we dealt with the way in which the opposition front was formed out of the leftist Grouping Party and the Socialist Labor Party and how it appointed Mr Ibrahim Shukri, chairman of the Labor Party, a leader of this front; we have discussed the political movement Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din is making with the other Wafdists and how these parties became internally fragmented, leading to the formation of this unholy alliance.

In this article we will present an example of some fugitive groups on the political scene, including the National Front Party, which has not been able to fulfill the legal bases for its establishment in accordance with the Party Law and whose affairs are in the process of being reviewed by the administrative judiciary.

It is recognized in democratic countries that parties should not be formed in the form of fronts, since parties are groups of members with political ideas that closely coincide in economic and political fields and party programs which they defend through the basic causes to which they have committed themselves. We find the term "front" used only in certain communist countries like Bulgaria. It is to be noted that the people founding this party are persons who faced economic and

political problems in the time of the power centers. After the May Revolution, they came to enjoy economic and political freedom and to desire to liquidate their accounts with the past at the expense of the democracy established by the May Revolution, which returned rights to the people who had lost them, closed the concentration camps, and eliminated press censorship and emergency laws. Political stability and social peace became a fact in Egypt acknowledged by enemies even before friends. Dr Mahmud al-Qadi was a member of the National Assembly in 1957 and beat the father of Maj Kamal-al-Din Husayn, member of the Revolutionary Command Council, in elections in the Binha district with the help of Mr Zakariya Muhyi-al-Din, minister of the interior at that time, in the wake of struggles which had been going on among Revolutionary Command Council members.

As is well known, in 1958 the People's Assembly was an elected assembly from the standpoint of form, but in reality was more or less appointed by the National Federation, which presented delegates to candidacy for membership in the National Assembly. After the dissolution of the assembly in 1958, Mr Kamal-al-Din Husayn, member of the Revolutionary Command Council, managed to take revenge for his father's defeat in the elections and deprive Dr al-Qadi of his political rights and also his university work, and enmity developed between them.

After Dr al-Qadi regained his personal freedom in full, as assured by the May Revolution, and returned to his seat in the People's Assembly in 1971 and in 1976, Kamal-al-Din Husayn became a member of the same assembly. The two fast friends sat next to one another in the seats of the independent opposition and Dr al-Qadi greeted his former adversary with an embrace and supplied him with his precious advice, as a result of which Kamal-al-Din Husayn was removed from the People's Assembly for acting with prejudice against the duties of his position by violating the constitution and the law. Then Dr al-Qadi stood up in the People's Assembly and said "Kamal-al-Din Husayn has committed a grievous egregious error and deserves to be punished, but I hope his parliamentary punishment will be lenient." It was as if he had meant the noble saying of the prophet, which held, "When you slaughter, do it well." Dr al-Qadi bade Kamal-al-Din Husayn farewell as he was leaving the assembly compound, as if to say "I have taken my revenge." After the District of Binha which Kamal-al-Din had been representing became vacant, Dr al-Qadi nominated his brother to run in it, but he received only a few votes.

On 11 November 1976, the elections for the chairmanship and vice-chairmanship of the People's Assembly took place; Eng Sayyid Mar'i presented himself for the chairmanship and Dr Mahmud al-Qadi presented himself as his competitor; presenting himself for the vice chairmanship for the workers' seats was Dr al-Sayyid 'Ali al-Sayyid, and Mr Ahmad Taha, the far leftist, presented himself as a competitor to him. Eng Sayyid Mar'i and Dr al-Sayyid 'Ali al-Sayyid won by an overwhelming majority, while Dr al-Qadi and Mr Ahmad Taha got just 25 votes. This shows the coordination between Dr al-Qadi and Mr Ahmad Taha.

By parliamentary tradition, the members stand to present the office of the chairman with the confidence of the People's Assembly. Dr al-Qadi stood and said "Mr chairman of the People's Assembly, in the context of democracy and freedom I present Eng Sayyid Mar'i with the confidence he has received from the overwhelming



majority that manifested itself in the elections, although I naturally would have liked that that not be your fate." I will let the dear reader of MAY newspaper read between the lines, which reveal that the man was seeking leadership and running after it, albeit by hitting his head against the wall.

At the start of this assembly's activities, President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat declared the abrogation of the authoritarian Socialist Union system and the formation of parties. These were to be the Egypt Party, the Liberal Party and the Grouping Party, which represented the three political tendencies in the world, center, right and left. None of these parties agreed to offer Dr al-Qadi a position of leadership and he refused to join them because he was too big for that. He continued as an independent member of the opposition, trying to lead the independents' front in the assembly, though it was fragmented and full of internal rifts because no single political idea bound it together. I will not review Dr al-Qadi's parliamentary style of People's Assembly opposition; I attest that he is a parliamentarian of independent judgment; though I have opposed his method of exercising democracy, this is not the place to discuss it here.

Dr al-Qadi proceeded to form the National Front Party, which remained mere ink on paper and was not based on legitimate status. We find the man acting nowadays as if that is an existing party whose name is linked to the rejection front in the former Lawyers' Union or the groups of fugitives and people implicated abroad. Out of shrewdness, he managed to persuade Counsellor Mumtaz Nassar to be a leader of this party, though it has not yet come into being. It is well known that Counsellor Mumtaz Nassar also has a case against the power centers, which fired him in what was known as the judiciary massacre. The president then issued a republican decree restoring his judiciary chair, although he was above legal age and had been transferred to retirement, because the president's great heart always sets an example of moral values.

We found that Counsellor Mumtaz Nassar, who is new to political activity, boarded the opposition boat. One should bear in mind that the requirements of the present made it mandatory that a gentleman use a judge's conscience in ruling on matters, when supporting or opposing them, and that he not be subject to the influence of people who have the taste for leadership, such as Dr al-Qadi and Dr Hilmi Murad. The gentleman knows that leadership is a matter of national effort which goes on for many years and that suffering, national sacrifices, love given the leader by the people and success from almighty glorious God are all matters which have brought al-Sadat to the heart of the people. Indeed, the heads of states in Europe and America have underlined the lofty nature of al-Sadat's leadership, and the iron lady, the prime minister of Britain, has stated "We hope that we in Europe can have leaders like al-Sadat."

Therefore we find that what is called the National Front Party consists of the person of Dr Mahmud al-Qadi, who moves with the Grouping Party or personalities to whom he is linked by common interests domestically or abroad.

On the political stage we then find personalities who rise to the surface then disappear, having no political weight with the masses, and to claim that they have



committed acts of heroism which time has eliminated. Among them, for example, are the professor and great lawyer Mustafa Bey Mar'i, who is proud to be the author of the famous request for information on ruined weapons in the Senate in 1950; because of this, he was removed from the Senate, along with some other men. However, we must learn the rest of the story, which is that the honorable senator presented the request for information on the first day it was reviewed in the Senate, that the government set the discussion for the request for information on the following day--and that we find that the honorable member was not present at the discussion of the request, left Cairo, and traveled to Alexandria on the excuse that he was on his way to Europe for the summer vacation.

We did not consult the sources we read for an explanation of this faulty parliamentary style, since it is well known that members of parliament are lawyers for the nation in the nation's cases; how can a lawyer abandon a case before the presentation is completed?

On the stage, we find personalities who are still active though the people forgot them, such as Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, who lost the throne of the al-Ahram Organization and claims to be a professor of political strategy and a great political analyst. Here I am referring to his famous articles before the October War on the state of no peace, no war, in which he declared that the Israeli army could not be defeated because our armed forces could not stand up to the Israeli army, which was equipped with the most up to date technology of the age. These articles created frustration with the members of the public; we protested against them but found no echo. However, to the contrary, al-Sadat was smiling with certitude and faith over these articles, because, although Heykal did not know it, they constituted part of the strategic plan of misrepresentation which our armed forces had prepared, while Israeli intelligence imagined that Heykal, who was deeply versed in the essence of things, was writing out of knowledge and understanding. However, the world was taken by surprise with the earthquake that occurred on 6 October 1973 when the banners of victory were raised with the soldiers' cries "God is great," the Bar-Lev Line fell in 6 hours, and Israeli intelligence, and Mr Heykal along with it, were laid bare after our armed forces had achieved a splendid victory by all military criteria and international standards. The man is trying to rise to the surface once again and become a roving writer for some foreign papers or a political advisor to al-Qadhdhafi; we read some articles by him some time ago, published by the Labor Party newspaper; the people turned away from them and the paper stopped publishing them.

To the old-time politicians, we say that Egypt's social map has changed and that the sons of peasants who collected worms on the pashas' farms have become engineers and doctors, and sons of laborers working for a few piasters have become officers and university professors.

We also say to the people who have lost influence and power and used to be appendage of the power centers that the people have come to possess their will and their freedom, and that, as President al-Sadat has said, there is no turning back from democracy.

To people who are scrambling to become leaders or clear up old accounts, we say that opposition is not a matter of contriving illusory positions or creating

fantastic issues or alliances which are in no way linked to the causes and interests of the people. Rather, it is political programs which take up economic and social development, remedy the masses' problems, and set forth solution. It is not through political vindictiveness that Egypt will be built or its resurgence will be brought about. There is no place for promoting goods imported from the rejection states or marxist warehouses, because what benefits the people lies in the ground, while the froth vanishes with disdain.

In the coming article we will finish the dialogue on some fugitive detachments which have sold our honor and our country outside Egypt for the lowest price, and the suspect relationship between these detachments and some opposition parties in the domestic front will be explained through analysis.

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## EGYPT

### POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT OF PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS DISCUSSED

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2773, 3 Aug 81 pp 23-25

[Article by Majdi Mahanna and Sharif Shukri: "Politics, Yes; Partisanship in Actions of Professional Associations, No; Most Bylaws of Associations Are Unconstitutional"]

[Text] Despite the fact that 70 years have gone by since the first trade union in Egypt was established, the controversy is breaking out now about the purpose of establishing these associations, about their authorities, about when their general assemblies can declare no confidence in their board [of directors] or take away the membership of one of the members.

ROSE AL-YUSUF posed two questions to the associations of lawyers, journalists, agronomists, teachers and physicians. The first question was about the role that each one of them played in political life.

The second was about the line that separates an association member's partisan action from his association actions. What did the results state?

The president of the physicians' association, Dr Hamdi al-Sayyid said that the affiliation of every member of the association with a party is legitimate. "However, an association's affiliation with a party is an undesirable mistake. A professional association must stay away from partisan action. If we were to look at politics in the broad sense, everything that an association does is political: health service is political, and the professional classification and upgrading of the profession is political. But politics in the narrow sense of becoming engaged in partisan bickering is not useful, and it is unsuitable action for a [professional] association.

"The principal purpose behind the actions of [a professional] association is to defend the interests of the members of the profession. But an association that is also part of the national community has national responsibilities. A member of an association must contribute his opinion on national problems because we are not a group of opportunists or a group of mercenaries, and we are to become involved in national action and in national questions whether these have to do with development, with independence, with daily work or with the public's suffering. All this is called national action and not partisan action.

"A professional association that shuns its responsibility is shortchanging the people's rights and the homeland's right, especially since professional associations are the essence of thought in Egypt and cannot be asked to isolate themselves from the country's problems.

"For example, we assumed a position on the problem of normalizing relations with Israel. This is a political question, and we do not find ourselves dissenting from the national consensus. This is because I am looking for what is in the interests of the profession and because I consider the normalization of relations [a measure] that caused me to lose the large Arab support [I had]. This Arab support is [the measure of] my true depth, especially when one finds out that 7,000 Egyptian physicians are working in the Arab countries and another 7,000 are on their way to work there. I cannot sacrifice the interests of the profession and the interests of those in the Arab area in exchange for narrow interests that will be of no good to me.

"Does this mean that I am dissenting from the national consensus? No. I did not interfere in the question of peace. We support peace, and my inquiry here stems from a national and a pan-Arab logic.

"The appeal that is being made to confine the activities of professional associations to the social aspect only signifies that the role of professional associations as a national group first, as a charitable group second and as Egypt's brain power third is being ignored. The sum total of the professional associations is the sum total of Egypt's brain power. How can Egypt's brain power be barred from participating in national action and from outlining the country's policy?

"[Egypt's professional associations are to participate in national action, but in doing so they are to adhere to] a national and a pan-Arab concept of such action and not the narrow partisan concept. They are not to destroy and libel the country's reputation abroad.

"A final point: every association has its bylaws which prescribe certain obligations and responsibilities for that association. The bylaws of the physicians' association expect me to express the opinion of physicians on social, economic and national questions, such as our relationship with Israel and our relationship with the Arab countries and the question of peace. I am also being called upon to defend questions of national independence, social progress and Arab unity in accordance with the bylaws of the association."

#### Questions and Answers

We took our questions to the writer Tharwat Abazah, member of the journalists' association, and he told us that the association was a group of people of a certain profession [organized] for the purpose of preserving the interests of that profession. He said that interference by such an association in politics was not legitimate. "Therefore, one finds that



associations' bylaws do not interfere in politics in the first place. This is the case not only in Egypt, but it is the case all over the world--the civilized world and not the communist world. This is because there are no professional associations in the communist world, and any such group is killed before it is formed. Professional associations are found in the civilized world."

"What then is the role of a professional association?"

"To preserve the interests of the members of the profession, such as increasing wages, increasing leave hours and reducing work hours.

"If an association departs from this role, it turns into a party. This applies to all associations without exception. Although the largest association which is active in politics is the journalists' association, its bylaws prevent it from being active in politics. Although our work as writers is connected with politics, the bylaws of our Writers' Alliance bar the alliance from involvement in politics."

"How can you be connected with politics and not be active in it?"

"It is true that there is no literary figure who is not connected with politics as an individual, but as a member of an association, no."

"How can that be when an association is a group of individuals?"

"It is true that an association is a group of individuals, but those individuals are many-sided. One is a husband, a son and a politician. When one joins a union, one's function becomes that of protecting the members of one's profession. One states one's political opinion in the political party to which one belongs."

"But the law of professional associations permits those individuals to engage in political action, [does it not]?"

"This is a mistake. Every individual has an opinion which he may hold as long as he wishes. As a member of a professional association that individual should not become engaged in political action, but as a human being he can. Professional associations can express their opinions of some projects from a professional point of view, not from a political point of view."

"Some associations, like the journalists and the bar association, have committees for liberties. What is your concept of the work of these committees?"

"The liberties committees defend an individual's freedom to join any party that a member of an association wishes to join. If a member of an association were to say that he wished to join a particular party, and the association were to stand in his way, the liberties committee would intervene and tell the union that it had no right to do so."

Tharwat Abaza adds, "There are indisputable national problems, such as the peace process. We in the Writers' Alliance were the first to extend our congratulations for that."

"Is not this considered political interference?"

"This is not political interference because it is a national question. We polled those who were present and it was up to them to decide whether they wished to express support or opposition.

#### Egypt's Brains

Ahmad Rashid, the secretary general of the Association of Education Professionals which has 400,000 teachers said, "Without the professional associations there would be no political life because professional associations have the elite of the educated people in Egypt. If these associations have no course or opinion in politics, this would mean that we are nullifying 75 percent of society's thoughts.

"The role of the teachers' association in political action is greater than that of any other association because this is the association that raises the generations and shapes the minds of students and young people in the schools and universities. My association action is to co-exist with the state's political life. The association has the right to discuss the problems of daily life, the questions of the public and the questions of peace. This is stipulated in its bylaws.

"What is important is that the associations are not to come under the influence of any parties. Quite the contrary, it is the associations that must influence the parties without confusing the actions of the party with those of the association."

Ahmad Rashid adds, "The appeal to confine the actions of an association to social activities is an appeal for nullifying the thinking minds of Egypt. If those people are not active in politics, who then would be?"

Agricultural Engineer Hasan Salim, secretary general of the association of agronomists told us, "The fact is that the old laws used to bar professional associations from interfering in politics. Then these laws were amended after 1952, and the associations were allowed to interfere in the national policy that the country agreed to produce. The association of agronomists gained prominence in supporting all the national and pan-Arab steps over which there were no disputes."

He added, "An association must not join any party. The association of agronomists in particular, which has about 150,000 engineers, cannot come together on one subject and agree to support one party. But each individual by himself, may privately choose to join any party he wishes to join. But he is prohibited from pursuing his partisan activity at the offices of the association.

"I articulated this trend in the meetings of the bar association and the association of engineers when the Alliance of Egyptian Professional Associations was being formed. [I said] the alliance should stay away from partisan politics and interfere only in the national politics about which the associations agree."

Hasan Salim adds, "I am reminded here of the initiative of the association of agronomists when President al-Sadat asked the professional associations for an opinion and directed to them a specific question: do we keep the platforms or do we turn to parties?"

"This opinion was discussed at the board [meeting] of the association, and we concluded that the platforms constituted an unnecessary step and that the parties ought to be established directly. The physicians' association and the bar association shared our opinion."

"But some people are demanding that the activities of an association be confined to serving the members of the association!"

"There is no dispute about the fact that when professional associations were first thought of, politics was not being considered. The purpose was to bring together people [who practiced the same] profession and to look after their affairs. After that purpose, I as an Egyptian have to express my opinion on national matters, but not in the context of the group. Otherwise, the association would turn into a party."

Nabil Zahir, an attorney in the Supreme Court of Appeals and in the Supreme Administrative Court stated that the bylaws of each association set several objectives that an association was to implement. The bylaws also set the activities that an association was to pursue. The first lines of the bylaws of every professional association give that association the freedom to take part in political life, to express a theoretical opinion about that political life and to try to serve national questions. An association that has objections about participating in political action is in violation of its own bylaws; it would have departed from what was prescribed for it.

"It is the right of an association--as citizens--to participate in political life. But there is total separation between the actions of an association and partisan activities."

#### The Opinion of the Law

This was the consensus among the associations about their role in political and partisan life. It remains for us to find out what the bylaws of each association state about the purpose of establishing that association and the authorities of its board.

Among the objectives of the physicians' association are: mobilizing the energies of physicians so they can carry out the mission of medicine and solve the health problems of the people; expressing the opinions of physicians on social, economic and national questions; and strengthening

relations with other countries to solve health problems and to serve the questions of humanity, freedom and peace.

The bylaws of the bar association stipulate that the association seeks to cooperate with similar professional associations and organizations in the Arab countries and in other countries to serve the Arab nation for the purpose of achieving national goals, championing the questions of liberation and world peace and setting down plans for professional and political action to serve justice, production and the problems of application.

The bylaws of the association of agronomists stipulated that the forces of the members of the association were to be mobilized and their efforts organized to serve society, to achieve national goals and the goals of economic development and to form technical committees that would help the political organization (the Socialist Union at that time) solve the problems of application.

It was the opinion of the board of the teachers' association at its first meeting in March 1955 that its uppermost responsibility was to affirm the political freedom and the social freedom of each citizen, to liberate the homeland and the citizens and to affirm the unity of the Arab nation, provided that the National Affairs Committee of the teachers' association prepare research and studies on current national conditions and on Arab and local questions. The Arab Affairs Committee is also authorized to investigate the questions of the Arab homeland and the challenges that are facing it and to devise plans for activities to oppose these challenges.

#### Withdrawing Confidence

The bylaws of the physicians' association set the procedures for withdrawing confidence from the board in case it violates the bylaws of the association. This may be done by the general assembly after the approval of 150 members.

Confidence is withdrawn from the board of the bar association in accordance with a petition signed by 20 lawyers. An emergency meeting of the general assembly is then convened and attended by half the members whose numbers amount to 20,000 attorneys. An emergency meeting of the general assembly of the association of agronomists is not legal unless at least 500 members of the association attend the meeting.

Perhaps the most serious fact revealed by this investigation is the fact that the bylaws of professional associations are unconstitutional. Most of these bylaws were issued during the period when we had a single political organization, and membership in the Socialist Union was a prerequisite for membership in a professional association. This condition still exists in the bylaws of each association, along with other stipulations and articles that are unconstitutional and require amending.



EGYPT

NEW HEAD OF BAR ASSOCIATION DISCUSSES ROLE OF ASSOCIATION

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2774, 10 Aug 81 pp 24-26

[Interview with Dr Jamal al-'Atifi, President of the Egyptian Bar Association by Mahmud 'Abd-al-Wahab; date and place not specified: "Dr Jamal al-'Atifi, President of the Bar Association"]

[Text] "I will not conduct trials or issue verdicts."

"We welcome opposition but not enmity."

"The association will not turn into a political organization."

"I hope to complete my mission before the end of the set year."

Public opinion has been preoccupied for several weeks with the question of the board [of directors] of the [Egyptian] Bar Association. When the People's Assembly issued its resolution to disband the association's board, everybody asked, "Who will undertake the difficult task of putting the house of the bar association in order?"

The new president is a veteran of professional and political action. He is the author of the Sequestration Elimination Law; he is one of the members of the committee that drafted the constitution; he is the vice president of the People's Assembly; the chairman of the Legislative Committee and the Foreign Relations Committee; a minister of information; a member of UNESCO's "wise men's" committee or the McBride Committee; and president of the Egyptian Society of Economics and Legislation.

The new president of the bar association is Dr Jamal al-'Atifi.

Our interview was about the question of the hour.

The Association and Polarization

[Question] The fact that you were assigned the duties of the president of the bar association was a surprise because quite honestly no one expected that.

[Answer] Let me tell you quite honestly also that my assignment was a surprise to me. In the last 3 years I have been totally devoted to the duties of my profession and have stayed away from the limelight of public life. It did not occur to me that I would be appointed president of the bar association. But when the offer was made, I considered the matter very realistically and thought that the circumstances made this incumbent upon me for [several] reasons.

I am a professional man and a member of the association, and my association is going through a difficult situation. It would be disloyal to abandon it in its critical situation.

It is certain that there is discord inside the association's board. For years, and specifically since the sixties, the bar association has been a center for political activity which prevailed over the purely professional activities [of the association]. Although the form of political life has changed and although the notion of political life itself has changed as well, the association has nevertheless been subjected to partisan polarization. This does not mean that the bar association is not to have a relationship with politics. An attorney, by virtue of his profession and its connections with the values of justice, truth and freedom comes in frequent contact with numerous political problems.

Thirdly, a decision to disband the board of the association has actually been made, and the association has to manage its affairs. An acceptable person must be available to assume the responsibility of steering the course of the association's business, such as accepting attorneys, [managing the problems of] their retirement, their medical treatment, their problems in the public sector, their problems with taxes and training young attorneys and so on.

[Question] But was this decision made in a democratic context that is consistent with the bylaws of associations?

[Answer] I do not want to consider the past, and I cannot discuss the circumstances or determine who was responsible for the deterioration of the situation and forcing it to the brink of a difficult and a bitter decision that is contrary to the original purpose of a democratic professional association that depends on elections.

But we are facing an existing fact, and we all have to do business on its basis since there would have to be someone, in the aftermath of the decision to disband the association's board, to assume the responsibility of managing the association's affairs during this period and to formulate a rational and a balanced view that would ensure the rights of attorneys and preserve the mission of the profession by drafting the new law of legal practice. The appointed board has been assigned this task.

[Question] Does this mean that the former board was remiss or negligent in managing the affairs of the association?

[Answer] I am not in a position to make a judgment on that, and I did not come [to this position] to put the members of former boards on trial. I myself was one of those who took part in the activities of professional associations till 1975. I worked with members of professional associations such as the late Mustafa al-Barad'i and with association president al-Shurbaji, may god grant him a long life, and I benefited from them. I cannot possibly claim that I by myself will come up with solutions for all the problems of attorneys. Any new statute in the association's bylaws regulating the association's activities to ensure that it performs its mission cannot succeed if it has no connection with the opinions and wishes of attorneys.

It cannot succeed if it is merely a theoretical study. I am certain that my task would be easier if I do not overwhelm myself and the new board along with me with the disputes of the past, with partisan or class struggles or with the settlement of association accounts.

As long as I with everyone's consent stay away from any blocs and as long as I am not a member of any one of the parties, I will be qualified to succeed in my mission, to achieve the unity of the association and to steer it on a level course away from partisan polarization.

#### Opposition and not Enmity

[Question] Do you think that what happened inside the association involves a mere professional dispute?

[Answer] Without entering into the details and the facts that are related to this subject, because I do not have enough tools to make a judgment on the subject, it is certain that the lines that separate national political action or actions that are related to the legal profession and a proscribed partisan solution are not discernible. However, the context of a counter or an opposing opinion may make the opposition appear hostile. We all accept [the principle of] opposition, and we believe in it, but we reject enmity. Let me give you a personal example. When I discussed on the pages of ROSE AL-YUSUF the law regulating the authority of the press, the committee that was formed to draft the law adopted some of the observations and did not adopt others. This discussion did not create a problem. In fact, it did not prevent my selection later as a member of the Supreme Press Council. This is because the objective framework in which an opposing opinion is presented and the fairness with which all points of view are to be presented constitute the method that indicates there is respect for the other opinion and an urgently needed stability in the significance of democracy.

[Question] Speaking of presenting different points of view on a subject, no one forgets the television debates [that were aired] when you assumed the responsibility of the Ministry of Information. Is the establishment of a season of political debates in the bar association on the agenda?

[Answer] This will most certainly not take place because there is a

difference between an information medium and an association. The fundamental purpose of a [professional] association is not politics. [Therefore], discussions within the association must be confined to the association's mission and to its bylaws. Attorneys may have a political opinion on a general subject by virtue of the fact that such an opinion is related to the association's mission, but they are to express that opinion without turning the association into a political organization.

Why? Let me clarify this point. A principal part of the state's mission is to ensure justice. This is done by entrusting attorneys with the mission of defending [people]. Attorneys must have an organization because they work independently. The state relinquished some of its responsibilities and left the task of organizing the profession to an association that would assume that responsibility. Therefore, the role of the association is basically a professional role. But the confusion between the notion of defending truth and freedom and that of political action and the legal profession allows allusions to be made to political aspects on the scientific points in which law and politics are confused.

But the normal place for discussing purely political problems as questions is found in the constitutional organizations, the parliamentary bodies or the [organs of the] political press. Therefore, I will strive to keep the association from being polarized by any of the majority or opposition parties. If there is a difference of opinion on major national questions, such a difference is [to be discussed] with the dignity of an attorney and with objectivity. Arguments are to be compared dispassionately with the truth, without allowing this [exercise] to become a cover for the achievement of political objectives.

#### I Will Submit a Report

[Question] The law that was enacted by the People's Assembly stipulated that among the duties of the appointed board is the task of drafting a new law for the legal profession. It stipulated that elections are to be held 2 months after the new bill on legal practice is ratified. However, the law did not determine a period of time for that. Does this mean that this can take more than 1 year?

[Answer] I am hoping and trying hard to concentrate my efforts and the efforts of my colleagues to conclude my mission before 1 year is over. I hope to send a letter to the People's Assembly, presenting a report and asking that the matter be deferred to the democratic foundation--the general assembly of the bar association--and that elections be conducted.

[Question] But is it necessary to amend the bylaws of the bar association now? Has this need emerged suddenly after all these years?

[Answer] The state and the professional associations are responsible for the slackness in the task of revising the bylaws of the professional associations and for the fact that the bylaws stayed as they are despite the change in political and constitutional conditions. This is because the



notion of politics has changed from a totalitarian regime to one that is based on multiple parties and opinions. Therefore, the bylaws of professional associations must stipulate that the partisan garb must be shed outside the professional associations and that professional associations remain basically professional. There are now constitutional channels through which opinions can be expressed: there are parties, parliamentary bodies, opposition newspapers and so on. Inasmuch as the political role of these constitutional organizations is strengthened, the political role practiced by the professional associations is diminished.

I would add to this that when I vote for a candidate in a professional association, I vote for him so he can protect my professional rights and not so he can express a political opinion. I have my own private opinion, and as long as I am capable of expressing it in the method, in the form and at the appropriate time through the constitutional and political organizations, the association would not be the suitable place for expressing that opinion.

[Question] It's been said that the government has assumed this position on the association's board because of the board's opposition to the government on political questions.

[Answer] First, what is the significance of the government assuming a position on the board of an association because of its opposition? Is this basically the board of a political organization? However, let me give you an example of a serious, objective discussion that would be appropriate for scientific associations and agencies. I have been the president of the Egyptian Society of Economics and Legislation. The board of directors includes colleagues and illustrious professors from various schools of thought and disciplines. We have with us Dr Isma'il Sabri 'Abdallah, Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad, Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, Dr Zaki Shaf'i, Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id and Dr Ahmad al-Ghandur. The society holds an annual convention for Egyptian economists, and during the convention sharp criticism--in fact, the sharpest kinds of criticism--of some of the economic policies is made and no objections are raised by anyone.

Why? Because the criticism is directed in its place, in a scientific society. Not only that, but the speaker or the scholar presents his ideas as an economist and, regardless of his methodology, speaks in a scientific style, not in his capacity as a proponent of a political position that he wishes to force on the discussion, even though he has a right to his political differences. Therefore, this convention does not issue resolutions or recommendations, but it is satisfied with a discussion of the disciplines that come up for discussion.

[Question] Dr Jamal al-'Atifi, do you have anything else to say?

[Answer] The responsibility of an association in these circumstances surging with sentiments and a breach of confidence is critical. I need sincere, objective opinions during that period. In order for this task to achieve success, I must draw a line separating the successive developments that preceded this period from the construction of a future acceptable to attorneys and favorable to their guiding mission.

## EGYPT

### SECTARIAN UNREST ANALYZED

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2777, 31 Aug 81 pp 4-5

[Article by Salah Hafiz: "Analyzing the Civil Strife"]

[Text] I do not know what President al-Sadat will say in the analysis he is preparing about the incidents of sectarian sedition in Egypt in recent years, but the most that I am hoping for is that the document will be a political analysis, that it will be comprehensive and complete, discussing the reasons for the civil strife and probing [this phenomenon] quite apart from its symptoms.

The required analysis must deal with the phenomenon of sectarian unrest in Egypt and not merely with this or the other incident.

Fortunately, such an analysis is not difficult. The phenomenon is new and sudden. Similarly, the reasons for it must be new and sudden. We will not have to dig into ancient history to look for its roots.

The July Revolution inherited a society whose slogan was "Religion is for God and the homeland is for everybody." It inherited a society that allowed the shaykh of al-Azhar to speak from the pulpit of a church and the patriarch to speak from the al-Azhar Mosque. Both spoke against the real enemy of the Egyptian nation: colonialism.

But what was handed to us by the July Revolution was a society of a different kind: a society that puts people on trial if they stir up one class against another, but does not put them on trial if they stir up one religion against the other.

Let us take, for example, the incident of al-Zawiyah al-Hamra' or the incidents before it or those that followed it. The principal perpetrator in all these incidents were those elements that have been goading the two [religious] elements in the nation against each other daily and continuously. They are the ones who are plowing the soil and preparing it for sedition; they are the ones who have been dousing the area with oil regularly and precisely so that every passing spark would turn into a destructive conflagration.

There are organizations among the ranks of Muslims whose function is to make the Muslims believe that the question for Egypt is the presence of Copts in the country. And there are organizations among the Copts whose function is to make them believe that Jesus Christ will not be satisfied unless they rule Egypt. In all these Muslim and Christian organizations there are intelligence elements from all the foreign countries. Religious organizations are the best tool in the world for gathering news and secrets because their members belong to all classes of society and all agencies of the state. They are also easier to lead and more effective when circumstances call for upsetting the authority in any country.

Among the advantages of religious organizations also is the fact that loyalty to these organizations is considered loyalty to God Almighty. And loyalty to God supersedes any other loyalty, whether it be to the homeland, the government, the regime or society. Religious organizations are then an ideal tool for conspiring with a clear conscience, for destruction [committed] for the purpose of higher principles and for practicing falsehood and terror as long as the objective is upholding the word of God.

The state is quite familiar with the history of these organizations, with the features of their thought and with the record of their actions. The state also knows the kind of publicity these organizations are spreading among the people. They do not spread their publicity in secret papers; they do so in periodical newspapers that appear regularly and are sold all over the country.

The only concern of one of these newspapers is to charge the state with apostasy because it considers the Copts citizens when it should be considering them non-Muslim subjects and collecting from them a capital tax. The state should not accept their testimony in court. The other newspaper does not describe the Copts as non-Muslim subjects or Christians. It refers to them as crusaders so as to make the people of Egypt believe that the Crusades have not yet come to an end and so as to make Muslims believe that all the Copts in Egypt are part of the army of the late Richard the Lion-Hearted, an army which he forgot in the land of Muslims after his departure from it. This newspaper does not consider the Copts proprietors of this land with us and soldiers who [fought and] died for it when they fought against the crusaders themselves. The newspaper does not [recall] that one of the first persons who lost his life in the battle of crossing the canal in October was a Copt.

This organized goading of Muslims' emotions against Christians and of Christians' emotions against Muslims is what I expect the state to look at in the aftermath of the events of al-Zawiyah al-Hamra'. I expect the state not to be satisfied with arresting the limited agents of sedition and putting them on trial, leaving the soil plowed and the climate prepared for scores of civil strife incidents that could erupt at any moment anywhere.

In the past the function of the regime--the government, the writers, the artists, the organizations and the leaders--was to awaken our minds--we, the humble people--to the challenges that we were facing as a nation. These

people would interpret for us the science, the art and the literature of Europe which was more advanced than we were. They used to prod us against the British occupation which was humiliating us, and they used to teach us that our enemy was the foreigner and that our weapon against that enemy was to unite against him, Muslims and Christians.

But our regime is now providing an opportunity for the new generation to learn new and different concepts. The new generation is being told that science is incapable of understanding life; that all its conclusions are suspect; that the question of our society is not to catch up with the advanced world and not prosperity for the deprived millions, but rather that of forcing women to wear the veil and modest clothing, building a mosque opposite every church and paying attention to the battle that is still being fought between Muslims and Christians ever since the Arabs conquered the Roman Empire.

Those who were teaching our generation were teaching us to confront the challenges of our age and to devote ourselves to the questions of our future.

But those who are teaching the present generation are teaching them to settle battles that ended scores of centuries ago. They are leading them to believe that the question of their lives is not that of catching up with the space age and the atomic age, but rather that of going back to the past and settling the score of the Crusades.

I hope that the analysis will turn to that [point], and that it will not be satisfied with looking for "guilty parties" who will be [merely] lumped together on a criminal record.

8592

CSO: 4504/81



# ARMY CLAIMED TO BE ENDOWED WITH 'SELF-REFINING SYSTEM'

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 1 Aug 81 pp 1, 10

[Text] The eventful days of the past week witnessed the formation of a total conspiracy against the armed forces of the Islamic Republic. If there is not an awareness of the Muslim nation, the days to come will surely be a witness to the completion of this conspiracy. Today, the Islamic army is faced from all directions with high and low tides of intrigue. Intrigues, whose designer is, in short, worldwide oppression, and whose aim is nothing but to separate the army from the people and to belittle the Islamic Republic's armed forces in the international arena.

The review and analysis of last week's events indicate that certain elements have openly begun to move towards disgracing the armed forces and discrediting it amongst the people (all this in the midst of a destiny-making war).

If an Argentinian aircraft carrying cargo for Iran from Iceland is destroyed in Soviet skies and then through international satanic propaganda networks it is said that the aircraft's cargo was weapons, more so Israeli arms purchased under secret agreement from the occupying regime of Jerusalem, the intention is to prevent Iranian warriors through propaganda bombardment from entering into combat with Israel in the near future.

When it is said that the aircraft's consignment was weapons, the fate of that aircraft becomes tied to the armed forces of the Islamic Republic. And when it is stated that those weapons were purchased from Israel, through a secret contract, inevitably, doubt is introduced as to whether the Iranian military has had secret negotiations with the Zionists. As a result, the blare of Zionist propaganda has been set in motion in order to create pessimism amongst the Muslim masses towards the credibility of the Islamic Republic's warriors in the war against the occupiers of Palestine.

When Bani-Sadr, along with Rajavi and the Shah's pilot, escaped with a military plane from a military base to France to join Bakhtiar, his main purpose, before anything else, was to belittle the armed forces of the Islamic Republic.

Because, considering his close collaboration with the Democratic Party and the hypocrites, he could have easily escaped from the Kurdish border without impersonating a woman and employing James Bond tactics. In that case, he would not have lost his mustache either. But do you know why he selected this dangerous route? His goal

was to discredit the defenders of this country's boundaries. Maybe he wanted to avenge the communiques that were issued [by the army] in support of the Islamic Republic and Constitution at the time of his dismissal as the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed forces. By his escape, Bani-Sadr tried to create a gap between the people and the armed forces, while he was fully aware that such a gap would have led to the destruction of the armed forces. Of course, such an action by him was predictable. From the very beginning, he regarded the army as a mount that would carry him into the realm of absolute power. When following the events of March 5th and the scandal regarding his personal guards, he misused his position to force the Joint Staff of the Army to change the name of the guards to "Protection Unit" and have it [operate] under him, many of our military brothers became aware of Bani-Sadr's way of thinking about them.

The communique, the issuance of which Bani-Sadr imposed on the Joint Staff of the Army, did not deny the barbarism exercised by the presidential guard but only connected the guard (and its savage behavior) to the armed forces. By this action, which received strong opposition from the armed forces--because the communique of the armed forces was published a week after the issue of the guard had been raised--, in order to advance his selfish political aims, Bani-Sadr used the honor of the soldiers (who, during the reign of the Shah, despite severe threats, had escaped from their barracks, suffered casualties in the name of Islam, were martyred and created epics that earned them honor among the nation,) and by exerting pressure on the army, forced it to say: "Compatriots, it was we who suppressed you on March 5th." This was contrary to the truth, for in reality, during those days the armed forces became a miserable victim of Bani-Sadr.

Bani-Sadr was a follower of the leaders of the school of thought who are of the opinion that "as long as my bowl is not full, no one else's should be full!" As long as he could use the armed forces as a stepping stone towards his own advancement, the soldiers at the front were regarded as devoted warriors; but after those same warriors rejected him, mythical events like that of Shireedi were considered to be obsolete.

As long as he was hopeful to use the army as a means to achieve his goals, he called himself the only defender of the army. Now that he is no longer in power and has been discharged, he is belittling the same army not only in Iran, but throughout the world also.

The whole world now knows the story of Bani-Sadr's trip to Israel and about the excellent relationship of his protege Nowbari and other colleagues with Israel. While pretending to have influence within the Iranian Armed Forces on the threshold of the Gods [Jerusalem] Day, and in tune with the Zionist networks of international propaganda, he is trying to metamorphose the anti-Zionist goals of the armed forces. These efforts are taking place at a time when his claims of enjoying the support of the Iranian Army is refuted by anyone who has even little knowledge of political affairs.

Bani-Sadr's escape to France is sufficient reason to prove that he does not have influence among the armed forces except for a few isolated and unorganized groups. For, he knows that after his escape, those who are found to have any sympathy with him will be purged from the army. If Bani-Sadr had had so much influence within the army that he could have done more than steal a plane, he would have reserved his capabilities for a bigger accomplishment.

Today, it is probably proper to call Bani-Sadr the deposed Abol-Hasan in analogy with the buried Mohammad Reza [the Shah]. For truly, the two have had a similar destiny. They not only shared their mutual fate in having had an inflated ego but also in their statements and behaviors.

If Bani-Sadr says he has gone to France to intensify the struggle, Mohammad Reza was also saying that he was taking a vacation to recuperate. If Bani-Sadr says that only 3 million participated in the elections [of the presidency], the Shah's regime used to say "it's only a tape!" And if Bani-Sadr, after the devastating elections of July 24th, escaped from Iran, Mohammad Reza fled the country after the Hoseyni 'Ashura. And if Bani-Sadr claims today that he has influence in the army, Mohammad Reza claimed the same thing yesterday.

Bani-Sadr and other Bani-Sadrs can say whatever they like, let them do that. Before God, and for this nation, the martyrdom of Shahrawfars is sufficient to make the army proud and to strengthen the trust of the people in it. The Shirudis, Lashkaris, Adabians and thousands of other warriors who have sacrificed their lives for the protection of the Islamic fatherland's borders, testify every day and every moment, that this army is fighting sincerely for Islam, and that their testimony is sufficient. Today, the army of the Islamic Republic has reached a self-refining stage which is the highest level of growth for any organ. Today, any decay which might develop within the armed forces will be eliminated automatically from within, before any outside reaction can take place against it.

Last year, on these days the Nowzheh coup was neutralized from within before being coped with from outside. And this year, after Bani-Sadr's flight and before anyone's demand from outside, for the purge of the military personnel responsible for the flight, the Muslim officers themselves have been exerting pressure on the authorities to achieve this purpose. These two examples are indicative of the existence of a self-refining system in the army.

As long as this system exists, it will fight the waves which lead to create a division between the people and the army, and while this system prevails, people will have peace of mind.

9842

CSO: 4640/81

POLICY BEING DISCUSSED TO COORDINATE FOREIGN TRADE

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 9 Sep 81 p 6

[Text] Since the bill to nationalize foreign trade, which is being studied in the trade committee of Parliament, has been presented to the Islamic Consultative Assembly, it is expected that, after amendments and ratification in that committee, the bill will be addressed in the general session of Parliament for ratification.

To nationalize the present system of foreign trade requires a gradual transitional period. What follows is an investigation and critique of how the foreign trade policy is being devised in the Ministry of Commerce and offers some of the objections to it as well as solutions for the establishment of a system which will be capable, in the transitional period, of providing the necessary grounds for the precise specification of the items and the implementation of the stages of Principle 44 of the Constitution.

The statistical data on national imports and exports show that in 1359 [21 Mar 80-20 Mar 81], the nation imported 11.01 tons of goods at a cost of 823.7 billion rials. On the other hand, national exports, other than oil, in that same year amounted to 299,300 tons valued at 51.1 billion rials.

National monetary payments for the imports amounted to 1,424,275.8 billion rials during that year, which is 67.7 percent of the total monetary payments. The ratio was 54.2 percent in 1358 [21 Mar 79-20 Mar 80], 40.7 percent in 1357 [21 Mar 78-20 Mar 79], and 55 percent in 1356 [21 Mar 77-20 Mar 78].

The monetary difference between national imports and exports is made up through the sale of oil. Everyone agrees that this is capital which belongs to the future generations and must be used for economic



growth and national self-sufficiency. Our country must gradually cut out its reliance on the exportation of its oil to provide for its monetary needs and, in essence, free itself of a single-item production economy, which is the result of the policies of large colonialist countries. This very issue shows clearly the importance of foreign trade and its effect on the national economy.

Even though devising a foreign trade policy requires an organized, detailed plan which will directly affect the politics, economy, and even the culture of the society, unfortunately, no such plan existed before the victory of the revolution. And afterwards, it has not gone beyond the efforts of a few caring people who had faith in the revolution. Hence, the foreign trade policy has been incoherent and no acceptable system has been found to control it.

The causes of this confusion should be studied at another time. But, in short, this situation is due to such things as the general national problem in the course of the past three years, the lack of a general direction for foreign trade, the lack of a minister after the fall of the transitional government, and the power struggle within the Ministry.

It must be noted that Martyr Javad Asadollahzadeh, after taking charge as deputy minister of foreign trade, and with the effective help of the commerce minister of the time, made much effort to take the necessary preliminary steps to organize and plan for foreign trade. His untimely martyrdom put a stop to his efforts.

Basically, the implementation of a foreign trade policy is, on the whole, designed to achieve the following goals:

1. To support domestic industry
2. To balance supply and demand
3. To provide government revenues
4. To control monetary flow
5. To provide guidance and control social consumption

But, what is the ultimate goal of economic planning? In the introduction to the Constitution of the Islamic Republic we read:

"In strengthening the economic foundations, the basic principle is to respond to the needs

"of human beings in the course of growth and development and not as in other

"economic systems, the concentration and accumulation of wealth and profiteering."

Therefore, in the Islamic Republic, the essential objective of all these plans is to bring about the growth and development of human beings and to prevent the accumulation of wealth and building treasures. But, unfortunately, thusfar, foreign trade has been an instrument in the service of and protecting large capitalists, merchants, and plunderers.

The lack of a plan appropriate to the economic peculiarities of the country and its non-conformity with the basic needs of the society--with the importation of many unnecessary consumer goods--has accustomed the socio-cultural structure of the society to foreign cultures and destroyed the spirit of creativity, construction, and innovation. Also, that group of investors, importers, and wholesale merchants who have made abundant profits from the import of foreign goods act as domestic supporters of those countries and are used, when necessary, as a base to assert those countries' influence.

In any event, planning a national foreign trade policy with overall consideration for the general conditions of domestic industries and agriculture and the execution of proper short and long term programs is a very sensitive and delicate task which can gradually put a stop to the economic influence of foreigners and bring about economic self-sufficiency and independence, which are requirements for true national independence.

(Chart No 1 shows the make-up of goods imported from 1356-1359 [21 Mar 77-20 Mar 81])

Since the national foreign trade policy is recorded in the form of a book of import and export regulations every year, first, we will take a look, in passing, at how it is devised and then offer certain suggestions to improve it.

#### 1. Devising General Import and Export Regulations

Devising general import and export regulations which are the result of the overall national trade policy is the most detailed, the most sensitive, and the most basic stage in the implementation of the foreign trade policy.

Authorized imports and exports are distinguished from unauthorized and prohibited imports and exports according to these regulations and the necessary restrictions are established. These regulations make clear to what extent the government will transfer its monopoly rights over imports and exports to merchants (before foreign trade is completely nationalized), to what extent it will have direct control, to what extent the customs revenues or consumer interest will be taken

into consideration, what economic region or country will be restricted, the import or export of which items will be encouraged, what monetary controls are to be used, and, basically, what economic direction is intended for the country.

Devising such detailed and vital regulations requires strong, coordinated planning in cooperation with other related organizations. It requires an experienced, alert, and active team. Making decisions in this regard is impossible without the availability of sufficient and reliable statistics and data.

Unfortunately, these statistics and data are not available to the Ministry of Commerce, which determines the general national trade policy. In carrying out its policy of supporting domestic factories and producers, this Ministry lacks the precise understanding of the number and kind of products and the level of production and consumption in the country. Traditional productions have not been identified and no adequate precepts dominate the devising of regulations.

Presently, before the end of each year, the book of regulations on imports and exports is devised on the basis of abacus-styled calculations, which rely on individual judgments. After its publication, three offices for the execution of these regulations (1. Non-Metal Goods, 2. Machinery and Metal Products, 3. Vehicles and Electrical Equipment), using standards prepared on the basis of who-knows-what documents and data, began to issue permits for the ordering and delivery of goods. Since these standards are not prepared on the basis of sound, acceptable data and statistics, they often do not have the intended effect on the society. At the same time, the many ambiguities in devising them which exist and their lack of centralization in an identifiable place have left room for misuse. The following examples are mentioned here as samples and it must be noted that these cases are numerous.

Below, in Tariff 84/52 of the booklet of standards for the import of calculators, we read that 30,000 desk calculators and 40,000 accountants' calculators are authorized for importation. How these figures were obtained or on what basis they were determined is not clear to anyone. And basically, it is unclear how the level of shortages or national consumption were derived to determine the above figures, since there is no record anywhere. Furthermore, transferring the permits for their import to individuals raises many questions.

Also, the book of standards of the Ministry of Industries and Mines, which is available at the Ministry of Commerce, mentions under many tariff regulations that permits for the import of items should be issued on the basis of domestic production, or after a shortage is felt in the marketplace, or at the level necessary to supply production units, etc.

Obviously, determining the consumption and shortage situation in the marketplace and providing for production needs require detailed study and records, which can only be accomplished by a group of experts and an organized institution.

In short, the present situation of devising regulations is as follows:

In devising import and export regulations, no basic standards exist which are appropriate to the economic situation of the country. For this reason, the executive organizations, including the centers for the provision and distribution of goods and the Iranian Customs Office, are faced with many difficulties.

During the present transitional stage of nationalizing foreign trade, basic changes must be made in the method of devising regulations.

Also, the lack of coordination between organizations which are in some way involved in foreign trade and contradictory decisions are among the factors which slow down the task and add to the bewilderment of the people.

## 2. Suggestions:

### 2.1. Preparation of Data and Statistics

As was mentioned earlier, planning the national foreign trade policy is impossible without the availability of precise, reliable statistics and data. The Ministry of Commerce and, in fact, all the related organizations are weak in this regard and lack an organized system for collecting statistics and data. Hence, this is a first step in establishing such a system. Of course, numerous organizations collect such statistics and data, to fulfill their own needs. But these efforts are scattered and uncoordinated. These activities must be coordinated and centralized within the Ministry of Commerce to be studied, analyzed, and compiled for later use.

2.2. Providing Identification Cards for Import Goods: Determining the import policy of every item requires much information. After it is collected, it should be recorded on a card called an "Identification Card for Import Goods," in accordance with the sample below. These cards would contain the following information:

Name of item

The customs tariff on the item

The level of domestic production of the item within the past few years



The level of customs tax on the item and the conditions on its entry (authorized, conditional, prohibited)

The level of national consumption of the item

The classification of the item (investment, intermediary, consumer)

The classification of the item's consumers (government sector, private sector)

The distribution system (governmental, cooperative, private)

Statistical data on imports of the item during that year

And so on.

(Attachment No 1 shows the form of the identification card for the import item)

The following ministries and organizations can be of valuable assistance in providing the identification cards for imported items:

The Ministry of Industries and Mines

Iranian customs

The Central Bank

The Organization of Iranian Light Industries

The Ministry of Agriculture

Production units

The Chamber of Commerce, Industries, and Mines

Other organizations

### 2.3. Creating a Coordination Center

In order to coordinate a single policy among all the organizations related to foreign trade, including the production and distribution centers, customs, the Ministry of Industries and Mines, and the Central Bank, the establishment of a coordination center in the division of the Office of the Deputy for Foreign Trade is essential.

Presently, because of the lack of coordination resulting in the issuance of varied instructions and policies among the different units, there is, in practice, a kind of dualism and at times, overlaps in the decisions and the execution of affairs, which, in

addition to wasting time and creating conflicts, have caused items be held up in customs.

The Iranian Customs Office, which is responsible for carrying out the policies devised by the Ministry of Commerce, functions under the supervision of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance, perhaps because of the revenues obtained from customs duties and taxes. However, on the whole, because of its close relations with the Ministry of Commerce, the kind of work and quality of its management affiliated with this Ministry, it should, as a matter of course, come under the domain of the Ministry of Commerce.

The Iranian Customs Office, with close to 5,000 employees, of whom more than 50 percent belong to the technical (customs) cadre, is a great human resource. The faithful and responsible individuals of this group can be used to make up the shortages in other cadres, especially in production and distribution centers, which suffer from shortages of competent experts. These employees, who have thusfar been carrying out the trade policies of the Ministry of Commerce, are familiar, more than others, with the work and the decisions of this Ministry. Presently, this Ministry seeks help from the customs experts in preparing and devising regulations on exports and imports. The transfer of the Iranian Customs Office to the auspices of the Ministry of Commerce can, under present conditions, eliminate the deficiencies resulting from the misinformed decisions and will, at the same time, provide a competent and expert cadre.

## 2.5. The Formation of the Commission to Study the Export and Import Regulations

The export and import regulations of the country may, due to various political, social, and economic problems, require changes, reforms, or the preparation of new regulations in the course of the year. Failure to give timely attention to them could cause great material and spiritual damages. Therefore, there is a need to form a commission to continually study the economic changes in the society and devise appropriate regulations.

It should be mentioned that, at the present time, such a commission is unofficially and partially at work within the division of the Office of the Deputy for Foreign Trade. This commission, which was formed in accordance with the instructions of Martyr Asadollahzadeh, the deputy minister for foreign trade at the time, was able, from the beginning of its formation, to take significant steps, including the ratification of bills 19220, 12702, and 19568. With the implementation of the above ratifications, the situation of many of the items left in the customs of the country was made clear. They were either covered by the just distribution of goods or, in accordance with needs, were placed at the disposal of revolutionary institutions for cultural and educational purposes. But, since this commission has

threatened the illegitimate interests of many individuals making windfall profits due to the lack of revolutionary standards or those base people from inside the Ministry who, in their own self-interest, were taking advantage of the ambiguities and shortcomings, gradually the grounds were laid for the destruction of this commission. Finally, with the martyrdom of the late Asadollahzadeh, the work of the commission was stopped altogether. Supporting and strengthening the above commission, completing its membership, and providing the necessary means for it to carry out its work, as well as writing a charter for it, and making it official, can eliminate many of the difficulties with which foreign trade and the release of items are confronted.

9593

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## IRAN

### DETAILS OF PLAN FOR NEW TAX STRUCTURE ANNOUNCED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 23 Aug 81 p 10

[Excerpts] With the ratification of the general national budget, public opinion, especially that of economists, has focused on the ultimate issue of the country's sources of revenue. Given the vital importance of this issue, PARS NEWS AGENCY directs the attention of the people to it through a report.

Obviously, the government needs revenues in order to provide for the needs of the people, to render services, and to engage in essential investments in the country. And, naturally, these revenues must come from some source. In various countries worldwide, taxes are considered a major source of government revenues. Of course, the comparative importance of this source depends upon the activities of the private sector and governmental supervision over it. In our country, due to the nature of the former dependent regime, despite the prosperous activity of the private sector, the amount of taxes collected was, on the whole, small; in addition, it came from the indirect taxation of low income people, although the largest part of government revenues was provided from the sale of oil, which is one of the country's most important capital resources.

Concerning the governmental increase in tax revenues, PARS NEWS AGENCY held an interview with Engineer Ezzatollah Sahabi, head of the Budget Commission of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, and Mohammad Gasem Mohammadian, tax deputy for the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance, which follows.

Engineer Sahabi pointed out the role of taxation in the national economy and said that a sound tax policy can provide for the expenses of the government. Also, we can benefit from taxation by either balancing incomes and providing encouragement, or by freezing incomes and activity. He added: I believe that the oil revenues must only be used for fixed, essential investments. Therefore, most of the current expenses must be provided for from taxation.



Sahabi added: The pre-revolutionary governments of Iran, due both to domestic policy and the desire to carry out foreign colonialist programs to continue dependency, first began the uncontrolled expansion of government organizations and second, in order to quiet the protesters, were forced to pay subsidies on goods and render numerous services without taking needed steps. Also, these governments established commercial production and service companies to provide an income; but, contrary to their expectations, on the whole, these companies showed losses. For instance, last year, the losses of these companies for the government were at close to 200 billion rials.

Engineer Sahabi added: Therefore, a system must be devised whereby the 2200 billion rials in expenses for the current year will be obtained from taxes or government revenues. I think a major portion of this amount can be obtained from taxes or government revenues. I think a major part of this amount can be provided for from taxes [as published].

Of course, we must note that the major source of these revenues must be direct taxes.

Obviously, the tax increase means direct taxation of private businesses, because, unfortunately, since the revolution, the heaviest taxes have been on salaries, whereas direct income taxes on private businesses have been insignificant.

This was for two reasons:

1. Tax rates
2. The tax collection system

Tax rates in our country have not conformed to actual economic and social conditions. The rates must reflect increases in personal income such that the percentage of taxes increases as does the income, until, at a pre-determined level of income, the taxes will be 100 percent. With little calculation, it is clear that the average tax rate will be 50 percent. That is, on the average, 50 percent of the income of the private sector must be paid to the government as taxes.

Engineer Sahabi added: The income of the government employees in this year's budget is close to 900 billion rials. Considering the fact that, according to available statistics, 80 percent of these incomes are below 50,000 rials per month, they cannot be taxed further. We can only increase the taxes of establishments which are not subject to national employment. And this will create an increase of 40-50 billion rials in taxes. However, the general national revenues will not stop at such a figure.

The national revenues in 1359 [21 Mar 80-20 Mar 81] amounted to a figure of about 5,000 billion rials. After the amount concerning salaries was deducted, the figure of 4,100 billion rials was attributed to private business.

If 2,00 billion rials of this income is collected on the basis of a 50 percent tax rate, the government will have no problems. But, you see that the total revenues of the government for the current year are estimated at 544 billion rials, a figure which is about one-fifth of the tax revenues which truly belong to the government.

Of course, the fact remains that collecting such taxes requires economic and production prosperity and we are a long way from such a situation.

There are several reasons for this: (1) tax rates, instead of being at 50 percent, are at about 33 percent and, therefore, must be increased; (2) the tax system is extremely weak and tax officials do not collect the proper taxes from the main people with incomes, such as import merchants, doctors, and all the businessmen in the private sector; (3) tax officials do not have sufficient regulations and means at their disposal to collect the taxes.

Companies, individuals, merchants, private workshops, doctors, various middlemen, and others--none of them record their monetary transactions, or the transactions are not accurately recorded.

Key-money transactions are not recorded anywhere. The transactions of middlemen are done from homes and over the telephone. And there are other kinds of transactions that occur without the knowledge of the authorities.

Engineer Sahabi added that the nation's tax problems concern reforming the tax collection system. We must note that we have competent tax officials, he said, who can determine the incomes of people without looking at their books. Of course, we cannot deny that we have a shortage of responsible, experienced officials. This problem must be resolved at all cost.

We must train conscientious, religious, and responsible tax assessors.

In addition to training assessors, the economic and financial system of the country must be reformed.

The people's wealth must be recorded in books.

The annual income of individuals must be determined. We must prepare tax booklets for everyone.

The total current and non-current income of individuals must be taxed.

The head of the Parliamentary commission also pointed to the increase of unnecessary luxury items which are now sold on the black market for much more than their true value as another short-term source of government revenues and demanded an investigation into the matter.

Concerning this issue, Mohammad Qasem Mohammadian, the financial deputy of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance, said: Obviously, government tax revenues must provide for more of the general expenditures in the budget. Of course, this depends on taxation in connection with economic growth and gross national production. A look at the tax rates of industrial nations shows that these rates are generally below 50 percent.

In this regard, in accordance with the approval of Parliament, .5 percent of the tax revenues are to be devoted to training, hiring, and encouraging tax employees. Also, the lack of comprehensive, restrictive tax laws and irresponsibility on the part of a number of taxpayers are among our other problems. For example, doctors do not have invoices and expense receipts; therefore, they can fail to report their true number of patients and their fees. The law does not require private businessmen and tradesmen to keep records. Middlemen and investors who do not have specific places of business and who gain their incomes without physical exertion do not pay any taxes at all.

Unfortunately, the law provides for tax exemptions which most industries take advantage of. Presently, these tax exemptions are being studied and steps will be taken to ensure that only nationally needed industries and the producers of basic goods will be exempted. Agricultural exemptions will continue as before. Mohammadian added: The taxpayers' failure to keep tax records, their lack of knowledge of the tax laws, lack of coordination between the growth of tax resources and the growth of human resources, and the lack of a set of centralized data on economic statistics for tax purposes are among our other problems. The tax deputy of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance, concerning the current and future projects of this Ministry, said: It has been two months since the committee to devise a direct tax law was formed. All the experts who believe in Religious Guardian Jurisprudence are invited to present their views to this committee. The committee hopes to devise a comprehensive tax plan. In this plan, property taxes will also be taken into consideration.

Another committee has also been formed in this Ministry to devise emergency projects. Of course, we believe that after the revolution, no extensive steps were taken to balance wealth. Therefore, the implementation of Principle 49 of the Constitution must precede the

heavy taxation of the wealthy. In this area, my tax colleagues have declared their readiness to cooperate professionally with the concerned institutions. Mohammadian added: It is said, at times, that the private sector has made a certain amount of profit without paying taxes; but this is not correct, because the taxes belonging to the last fiscal year are collected at least a year and a half after the end of that fiscal year. The statistics show that in the first four months of 1360 [21 Mar-22 Jul 81], taxation of companies had increased by 53 percent compared to the same period in the previous year.

He added: In the plan which is being prepared, tax exemptions on salaries will increase; in fact, the ratio of taxes on salaries will decrease and taxes on the income obtained from the work and investments of businesses will increase. In conclusion, the tax deputy of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance requested responsible fellow citizens to report, in writing, with documentation, to this Ministry any tax frauds, unidentified wealth, and, on the whole, any tax evasion. They can rest assured that this information will only be used to collect taxes and will be considered absolutely confidential.

0503

NO: 4640/97



## BAGHDAD RADIO ON U.S.-IRANIAN RELATIONS

JN121846 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic 1615 GMT 12 Sep 81

[Station commentary]

[Text] If some Western observers believe that the secret Zionist-Persian arms and trade cooperation over the past year has been one of the important and immediate consequences of the unpublicized decisions reached by the ruling regime in Iran during its negotiations with the U.S. administration to secure the release of the hostages of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, a more important consequence has recently begun to surface openly in the domain of U.S.-Iranian relations.

According to the information of some observers in the U.S. Department of the Treasury who preferred to remain anonymous, these relations have begun to go back to normal in an active manner through the steps taken by the ruling authorities in Tehran in the past few weeks.

The first of these steps was the approval of the Tehran authorities to refer their dispute with the U.S. banks on the revenues of the recently released Iranian assets to a nine-man arbitration committee which includes three U.S. specialists. This step shows that the Iranian authorities have bowed to the insistence of the U.S. banks on not dealing with them as long as this dispute is not resolved.

The second step in the same direction was approval by the ruling regime in Tehran to meet the financial demands of the U.S. oil industry monopolies, which had turned down Iranian oil unless they are compensated for losses incurred during the period of the transfer of power in Iran from the shah's regime to that of Khomeyni.

Statements by some U.S. officials make it clear that the steps taken by the Tehran rulers have succeeded in accomplishing the objectives of those officials who want to mend fences with the U.S. companies and regain the oil market. This can be deduced from assertions by the same U.S. sources which confirm that U.S.-Iranian relations have begun to improve in various spheres in response to the efforts of the Tehran rulers.

While this is denied by the Tehran rulers who claim to adopt a hostile stand toward U.S. imperialism, it should be noted that these efforts by the Tehran rulers are in full harmony with the U.S. trends which paved the way for this following the release of the hostages last January when the U.S. Department of

the Treasury ordered several U.S. companies, particularly those dealing in agricultural products and electronics, to lift the embargo of U.S. products on Iran in February 1981 and to seek to restore U.S.-Iranian trade relations to normal.

Thus, based on deductions which say that the centers for planning and guiding Zionist-Iranian cooperation are to be found in Washington, it is clear that the stage for improving U.S.-Iranian relations has begun its first experimental phase with equally fast Zionist and Iranian steps which are heading toward the same central point; namely, the second stage which is witnessing direct application of the same wish. This does not mean that there was a period of severance of these relations prior to the completion of the farce of the hostages' release. All there is to it is that stage witnessed a certain secret channeling of the aforementioned relations that has been exposed by U.S. press reports whose authenticity was confirmed by subsequent events.

CSO: 4404/1

PAPER WARNS AGAINST 'U.S.-ZIONIST SCHEMES'

JN131145 Baghdad INA in English 1120 GMT 13 Sep 81

[Text] Baghdad, 13 Sep (INA)--Iraq's leading newspaper today warned against the dangerous consequences of the recent visit by the Zionist terrorist Begin to Washington and his talks with U.S. President Ronald Reagan and other senior U.S. officials.

ATH-THAWRAH, the daily organ of the Arab socialist Ba'th Party, said what has been achieved by Begin's visit to Washington is directly aimed against all Arabs, in their fields and countries without exception.

What has been achieved was in fact the start of a new phase of intervention, robbery and aggression, the daily added, while urging all Arab countries to act with full responsibility towards their present and future.

Referring to Zionist benefits from the visit, ATH-THAWRAH said they were a full U.S. guarantee for the protection of the Zionist entity, an allout support in all fields and to provide all wanted covers and justifications for Zionist schemes or fulfilling its prepared role in joint U.S.-Zionist schemes.

The Zionist entity has obtained new privileges, the most important of which were to draw out a new basis for the strategic U.S.-Zionist relationship and dialogue, forcing the U.S. to deal with the Zionist entity as if it was a U.S. state, put its reconnaissance information at the disposal of the Zionists and allow the Mossad to work freely inside the United States, to make available all the pre-requisites for the completion of the Zionist nuclear programme, to increase U.S. military and economic aids, to reschedule Zionist debts and the principle agreement on carrying out joint military manoeuvres over the Palestinian territories and airspace, ATH-THAWRAH summarized.

In its conclusion, the daily affirmed Arab path towards construction, emergence and the consolidation of Arab potential is the same binding path for the confrontation of the forces of aggression and it is also the only path to resist the cases of weakness, deterioration and rift.

The forthcoming 12th Arab Summit Conference is demanded more than ever for a daring, objective and comprehensive stand that will put an end to Zionist aggression, American robbery and to their old and new joint aggressive schemes, ATH-THAWRAH said.

# RELATIONS WITH USSR, IRAN ANALYZED

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic No 217, 29 Jun to 5 Jul 81, p 22

[Article by N.M.: "Taha Yasin [Ramadan] Makes a Preparatory Visit: Saddam Husayn Will Soon Be in Moscow"]

[Text] The Iraqi delegation in Moscow, led by Deputy Prime Minister Taha Yasin Ramadan, was willing to discuss economic and trade relations between Moscow and Baghdad. The membership of the delegation included Mr Tahir Tawfiq, minister of industry and minerals, and Mr Ahmad Husayn, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

During the 3 days of the visit economic agreements were signed. They included the protocol for economic and technical cooperation and the protocol for the trade agreement concerning Iraq's 5-year plan. The fundamental occasion for the visit was the emergency session of the Permanent Committee for Economic and Technical Cooperation. This committee meets once a year in order to review the agreements between the two countries which have been carried out during the year. Usually the level of the Iraqi delegation which attends these meetings is determined by the state of relations between Moscow and Baghdad.

This year the head of the delegation was the man who is in third place in the hierarchy of Iraq's leadership, and for this reason there was very clearly a positive atmosphere in the talks between the two parties. The real motive for the visit was interest in developing friendly relations. Thus the motive was to achieve political agreement--to be followed by the achievement of agreement concerning economic relations, which was published in the visit's final communique. The final meeting which was held between Mr Ramadan and the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Mikolay Tikhonov, "was characterized by frankness and an atmosphere of friendliness." This was a clear reference to the fact that the two parties had brought up matters concerning which their points of view differed. In any case, these were political matters.

The visit took place in the midst of an Iraqi and Arab political atmosphere that was difficult to disregard, not only because Israel had bombed the Iraqi nuclear reactor before this visit. A more important factor was the developments which took place right after this Israeli operation.

One of these developments was the fact that the Syrian-Israeli crisis proved that the Soviet Union is very capable of helping, and perhaps even protecting, its allies. All those who have met with Soviet leaders after this crisis have noticed their intense and urgent interest in helping Syria. There is a difference in Iraq's and Syria's international circumstances, as shown by the fact that the U.S. was anxious,



through the mission of the American president's personal envoy Philip Habib, to keep Israel from being militarily involved in the missile crisis. But in spite of that difference, Moscow has introduced a new factor into the factors concerning the Middle East. It is the opposite of what Egypt has been saying as a result of the history of its relations with the Soviets, namely that Moscow is unable to protect its allies. This factor does not eliminate Iraq's traditional sensitivity concerning its relations with the superpowers, but the Israeli attack on its nuclear reactor has served to sort out friends from enemies in its international relations, and this is something which nobody can disregard.

One indication of the fact that this sorting out has occurred is the position which U.S. President Ronald Reagan, took with respect to the attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor. Not only did he come to sympathize with the position of the Israelis who are afraid of Iraqi nuclear power, he also regarded Iraq's war with Iran as an invasion similar to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

#### Agreement Concerning Iran

The second development concerned the situation in Iran. Eastern bloc diplomatic sources in Beirut have said that the Soviet Union views the developments in the Iranian situation with great alarm. The most important of these developments, of course, has been the fall of President Abol Hasan Bani-Sadr and his defeat at the hands of the Islamic Republican Party. These sources believe that the leaders of this party--or at least most of them--will deal with the Soviet Union the way they have dealt with the United States. This would mean that the Soviets would lose even the limited role which they have been playing in one of their neighboring countries.

Iraq, from its standpoint, does not consider the fall of President Bani-Sadr to be a factor which will promote the desire for peace which Baghdad has been demonstrating in order to end its war with Iran. This is in spite of the fact that Baghdad, in principle, does not care who is in power in Iran.

However, this would not prevent indirect agreement in the Soviet and Iraqi positions concerning the necessity of jointly monitoring the Iranian situation. But there has been no change with respect to Soviet reservations concerning Iraq's position with regard to Iran, and with respect to Iraqi reservations concerning the Soviet position with regard to Iraq and the fact that the Soviet Union, in times past, has not fulfilled its commitments made in the treaty of friendship and cooperation between Baghdad and Moscow. For this reason, traffic along the road between the two capitals is still moving very slowly. An Iraqi diplomatic source asserts that the Soviets have responded to Iraq's needs concerning its development project. These sources reject the denial of what has been said concerning the fact that various types of Soviet weapons have begun to be sent to Iraq.

But why did Mr Ramadan not meet with the Soviet chief of state, Leonid Brezhnev?

Informed Arab sources have said that the Iraqi leader, in principle, did not request a meeting with the Soviet chief of state. This is because Iraq does not want to see dramatic developments in its relations--neither on the pan-Arab nor on the international level. What Iraq wants is to have each positive and emerging position quietly become known.

But these same sources say that Mr Ramadan has succeeded in establishing a favorable atmosphere for the visit which President Saddam Husayn will soon be making to Moscow.

## BRIEFS

PRESIDENT BESTOWS MEDALS--Baghdad, 14 Sep (INA)--President Saddam Husayn said the Kurdish question has been used and is still used for certain aims by several countries which built hopes on it. President Husayn said so while awarding Monday the Medal of Courage for three Iraqi Kurdish citizens, members of the Popular Army, who fought with incredible obstinacy in defence of the country and the principles of the revolution. This is the first time the medal goes to civilians. The president said those countries were betting on the deviationists but "We bet on the great Iraqi Kurdish people in the same way we bet on the Iraqi Arabs and Turks and on all other Iraqis from different religions and nationalities. Our betting was realistic because it was not the bet of gamblers but the bet of those who hold principles and know their people in detail and feel their daily life" President Husayn said. He explained that all those who advocate the nationalistic rights of the Iraqi Kurds realize that they were agents of a country which does not recognize the very simple rights of the Kurds while in Iraq, a Kurdish citizen has the right of an Arab in addition to the autonomous rule. President Husayn affirmed that the revolution in Iraq "Is for the Kurds as it is for the Arabs and the Ba'th Party is for the Kurds as it is for the Arabs and for the others since they live in Iraq and struggle for Iraq." [Text] [JN141924 Baghdad INA in English 1845 GMT 14 Sep 81]

CSO: 4400/1

## PRESS QUOTES NATO SOURCES ON SAUDI AWACS

GF171209 Kuwait AL-HADAF in Arabic 17 Sep 81 p 1

[Text] London--NATO sources have leaked very important information on the U.S. AWACS planes purchased by Saudi Arabia. The sources say that for some time Israel has been developing a station that will be used to monitor Arab communications systems in order to benefit from the information transmitted by the AWACS planes to ground stations and command centers in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The sources, who refuse to disclose their names or positions, add that within 1 month Israel will be able to pick up all the information provided by the U.S. reconnaissance planes in Saudi airspace and shared equally with Saudi Arabia.

The same sources indicate that previously Israel tried to convince the United States to allow Israel to share the information collected by the AWACS, whether from the ground or from space, through an agreement governing the exchange of security information between the two countries. However, the United States expressed reservations because of its sensitive relations with Saudi Arabia and the Arab world.

The sources also say Israel is capable of evading this problem by obtaining the information illegally by reinforcing its spying and listening equipment which can then obtain the information collected by the AWACS from Arab communication systems.

The sources recall what Israel has been doing since the June 1967 War, that is, collecting information about Arab armies through its listening equipment. Two years ago Israel was able to install electronic listening equipment to monitor the telephone line between Syria and Jordan.

The NATO sources believe that by using military information made public in the 1970's advanced states have been able to develop their equipment so much that it is almost impossible to preserve the secrecy of information in any country in the world.

ESG: 4434/1

PAPER INTERVIEWS IRAQI OIL MINISTER

GF121510 Kuwait AR-RA'Y AL-'AMM in Arabic 12 Sep 81 pp 9, 12

[Interview with Tayih 'Abd al-Karim, Iraqi Revolution Command Council member and oil minister, by 'Abdallah al-Qaq, in Baghdad--date not given]

[Text] [Question] You recently made several visits to Saudi Arabia and Britain. What is the nature of these visits and of the talks that were held?

[Answer] The purpose of our visits and the visits of many colleagues to Saudi Arabia was to exchange views, coordinate between our two fraternal countries, and strengthen bilateral cooperation to serve our common interests and the higher pan-Arab interests during this critical stage in the Arab nation's history, as well as to study the present oil situation and to discuss the best ways to face the imbalances in the world oil market. Thanks to the firm fraternal ties between Iraq and Saudi Arabia, these visits achieved constructive and positive results.

Our recent visit to the United Kingdom was at the invitation of British Secretary of State for Energy David Howell. One can say that the talks which the Iraqi delegation held with British officials and British companies achieved positive results that will greatly influence the development of cooperation between the two countries and opened the way for British companies to participate in the implementation of development projects in Iraq according to the principles to which Iraq adheres in its dealings with the outside world.

[Question] What can you tell us about Iraqi oil production? Is it possible to make up for it after the war?

[Answer] Prior to the racist Persian aggression against Iraq and the Arab nation, the Arabian Gulf was the principal outlet for most of our oil exports. As a result of the war, we now rely on pipelines through Syria, Lebanon and Turkey, and [we are producing] within the limits allowed by the capacity of these pipelines and our commitments to these countries. Of course, Iraq has the necessary capability and flexibility to return to the level of exports commensurate with its capability for oil production after the war.

[Question] The foreign press often says that the Iraqi economy has been greatly affected by the Iraqi-Iranian War. Is Iraq continuing its development plan as usual despite the war?



[Answer] The glorious battle of Saddam's Al-Qadisiyah that is being waged by our heroic hordes against the racist Persians on the Arab homeland's eastern flanks is a truly unique phenomenon in the history of the world. It is the first time a developing country has proved its ability to wage a protracted war against an enemy that is more numerous and has more equipment along a 1,200 km front while at the same time continuing its battle for development and construction at a higher rate than that before the war, thanks to the awakening and enthusiasm generated by this sacred battle and the historic and outstanding leadership represented by the hero of national liberation, President Saddam Husayn. It is not surprising that our victories on the battlefield and our achievements in the battle for development should arouse rancor that governs the conduct of certain foreign quarters and their attitudes toward Iraq and the Arab nation.

[Question] The world market is still suffering from an oil glut. Do you believe it necessary to reduce production by 10 percent as OPEC decided, and do you believe that some OPEC members did not abide by this decision?

[Answer] Very early on Iraq warned that the absence of a unified structure for oil prices and the pursuit by some OPEC member countries of pricing and production policies that conflict with the national interests of all OPEC members and other developing countries open the way to world imperialism and the monopolist oil companies to implement their schemes to undermine OPEC by creating an imbalance in the world oil market. Regrettably, these schemes have succeeded in achieving their wicked aims because of the lack of response by some OPEC member countries to the sincere efforts exerted by Iraq on various levels to unify oil prices and bring about an agreement on a realistic production policy that protects the price structure. The Iraqi initiative during the recent Advisory Conference of OPEC Oil Ministers held in Geneva 19-20 August 1981, almost succeeded in bringing about a total agreement at the conference on the posted price of oil and relative increments and thus insured OPEC's unity and safeguarded its members' interests had it not been for the intransigence of some of our brothers and their rejection of the compromise solution proposed by Iraq. The conference thus ended without reaching an agreement, although our proposal was accepted by the majority of OPEC member countries.

The present glut on the oil market is a serious phenomenon that threatens the unity and very survival of OPEC, which now suffers from a lack of coordination on production to face the fall in demand. Moreover, there are several, and non-competitive, prices for OPEC oil.

In our view the elimination of this phenomenon requires that OPEC members rise to the level of their responsibility and take OPEC's interest into consideration, even if this should call for sacrifices. Thus the reunification of the pricing structure and the regulation of production in a manner that will restore the balance to the market, strengthen the pricing structure and at the same time insure that the interests of an OPEC member or group of member countries are not harmed can be achieved as soon as possible.

It is the fall in demand for OPEC oil at a time when some OPEC members raised their production to levels that have far surpassed the highest level reached

in the wake of the equipment crisis of 1978 and 1979 that has resulted in this glut--despite the fact that most OPEC members have reduced their production by 10 percent as decided. The restoration of balance to the market requires that all OPEC members, and particularly those countries that maintain high rates of production, reduce their production to the level that insures for each country its former share of oil production. Whether this should require a 10 percent reduction in oil production or more or less than 10 percent depends above all on current levels of production as well as on the level of demand for OPEC oil on one hand and the level of prices that are agreed upon on the other.

[GF121652] [Question] Do you think the next OPEC meeting will maintain the present oil prices or will increase them? Do you believe that maintenance of current prices will lead to a return to the two-tier price system?

[Answer] In his national speech on the 13th anniversary of the glorious 17 July Revolution in Iraq, President Saddam Husayn asserted that Iraq sees no justification for welching on prevalent prices. Iraq's stand on this matter is based on a thorough assessment of prevailing oil prices in the light of the constant inflation of prices of goods and services which OPEC countries import from the industrialized countries. Oil prices have not yet reached the level that guarantees the developing countries that export this vital commodity economic revenue commensurate with the economic and strategic importance of oil and its nature as a depletable commodity.

Moreover, a retreat by OPEC on existing prices is in its view a step toward the organization's dismemberment. Our stand, as I explained in my answer to your previous question, stresses the importance of reunifying the price structure and ending the multiplicity of price levels. However, our efforts in this regard were not successful during the advisory meeting for the reasons I have mentioned.

[Question] Will Iraq review the contracts of some oil companies in light of the stands of their countries on the Iraqi-Iranian war? Do you believe that the French stand is in harmony with cooperation in the petroleum field [presumably Iraqi oil exports to France] which constitutes a large proportion of Iraqi production?

[Answer] Iraq has always dealt, and continues to deal, with world countries and foreign companies on the basis of their stands toward the Arab nation's causes of destiny and the extent of their respect for our legitimate aspirations. We view oil as the most important source of economic and political strength for the Arab nation. Thanks to nationalization and exercising national sovereignty over oil resources and all aspects of the petroleum industry, Iraq has been able to apply this policy effectively and in a way that has had a profound effect in furthering our national and pan-Arab aims and in establishing close relations with many countries, particularly developing countries.

[Question] Does Iraq intend to carry out new oil exploration? What are Iraq's plans to develop this activity? Is Iraq endeavoring to diversify its sources of revenue?

KUWAIT

BRIEFS

OIL PRODUCTION FALLS--AL-WATAN has learned that Kuwait's current oil production is 500,000 tons of crude oil a day. Prior to the fire at the Ash-Shu'aybah refinery, Kuwait's oil production totaled 800,000 barrels a day [figures as published]. Kuwait's gas production has also fallen as a result of the decrease in oil production. Preliminary estimates indicate that the losses incurred from the Ash-Shu'aybah fire amount to more than \$100 million rather than \$50 million, as reports from London said the day before yesterday. Informed sources said that the losses could total \$120 million and that this figure includes the cost of the burned fuel depots and oil as well as lost revenue during the period in which the refinery's production was stopped. [Text] [GF071127 Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 7 Sep 81 p 6]

CSO: 4404/1

## BRIEFS

ANGOLAN LEADER THANKS AL-QADHDHAFI--The leader of the great al-Fatih Revolution has received a written message from the Angolan president in which he expresses the Angolan people's appreciation for the stances of the great al-Fatih Revolution and its leader regarding the consolidation of the Angolan popular struggle against the aggression they are being subjected to by U.S. imperialism and the facists in South Africa. The Angolan president valued highly the firm attitude which the Jamahiriya bravely adopts in confronting U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, the racists in Africa and world zionism. [Text] [LD181404 Tripoli Domestic Service in Arabic 1230 GMT 18 Sep 81]

INDEPENDENT BELIZE RECOGNIZED--Tripoli, 21 Sep (JANA)--JANA has been informed that the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has announced its recognition of the independent state of Belize. The secretary of the People's Foreign Liaison Bureau today sent a message of congratulations to Belize's foreign minister on the occasion of his country's independence. In his message, the secretary of the People's Foreign Liaison Bureau expressed the Libyan Arab people's pride in this great event stressing the international role played by the great al-Fatih Revolution in supporting just causes and consolidating the people's struggle for freedom. It is worth noting that Belize, a former British colony, is situated in Central America, surrounded by Mexico in the north and Guatemala in the south and west. It has an area of 23,000 square kilometres. Sugar cane is its main resource, in addition to various kinds of citrus fruits. [Text] [LD211904 Tripoli JANA in English 1713 GMT 21 Sep 81]

STFADFASTNESS FRONT ISSUES FINAL COMMUNIQUE--Benghazi, Libya, 19 Sep (AFP)--The Arab "Steadfastness Front" said here Friday night that the United States, by concluding a strategic-cooperation agreement with Israel, had "barred the way to any possibility of reaching a just settlement" to the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East. In a final communique after a two-day meeting, the front said "the Israeli-American alliance has upset the regional situation (in the Middle East), putting the United States in a state of direct confrontation with the Arab world and giving birth to the risk of a Soviet-America conflict." The front asked other Arab countries to "reconsider their relations with the United States" and to use all economic pressure, including the "oil weapon," to combat the Israeli-American alliance. The Steadfastness Front, comprising the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Algeria, Libya, Syria and South Yemen, was formed in December 1977 to fight against Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat's attempts to make peace with Israel. [Text] [NC190637 Paris AFP in English 0622 GMT 19 Sep 81]



## MUSCAT COMMENTS ON PDY REGIME'S ANTI-ARAB POSTURE

LD182243 Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic 1315 GMT 18 Sep 81

[Commentary: "Behind the Truth"]

[Text] A number of important questions have arisen in the Arab-Islamic arena following the coming of power of the ruling regime in South Yemen. These questions constitute a regrettable and [word indistinct] in Arab circles, and require objective and scientific answers.

Among the most prominent questions--perhaps the most serious--is the big question: Why Marxism? Why is Marxism the course followed by the South Yemen regime? What are the objective (?bases) of this course? Is Marxism a sound and natural alternative to pan-Arab and Islamic ideology? How can we understand the nature of relations between international communism and the ruling clique in South Yemen? What precisely are the causes, dimensions and objectives of these relations?

All these questions cropped up a long time ago in the Arab arena. They need convincing answers, only by means of which can we define the nature of the crazy and irrational course of politics in South Yemen, both internally and externally.

It is obvious that the regime of South Yemen took over in suspect and confused conditions. It emerged from its shameful record in national work stamped with treachery and betrayal. The regime has existed in an ideological vacuum ungoverned by any affiliation to the land, Arab heritage or traditions.

It was confronted with complicated situations beyond its feeble capacity and the shallow and superficial abilities of its leadership. For this reason, this illegitimate regime was established on foundations of terror and oppression and on authority which had no loyal support from the fraternal [Yemeni] people.

Consequently, the South Yemen regime found itself isolated after it turned its back on the Arab nation, its traditions and heritage and ignored the Arab-Islamic affiliation of the Yemeni people. In the face of this bitter reality, it was natural that the forces of terror and the destructive elements should overcome the trend toward social peace, the potential for construction and the elements for good.

All this came about under communist principles and Marxist values inculcated--under conditions of extreme [word indistinct]--into the minds of misguided youth under the label of crash party studies. International communism aimed to prepare this youth for the future as cadres, imbued with Marxist ideology.

This is the great shock that will hit the Arab nation, especially when this time-honored nation realizes that international communism is aware that the present leadership of the agent regime in South Yemen is only performing a transitional role, even if it adopts extreme slogans and exaggerates its stands.

The continuing process of liquidation is perhaps the best evidence. [as heard] On this basis we see concentrated Marxist teaching in schools financed by the Soviets in South Yemen--such as the proletariat schools, the Torch schools, the Red Star schools and other such centers of brainwashing--in addition to the scholarships offered for studies in the USSR and elsewhere in the communist states, where the [word indistinct] youth from South Yemen is poisoned into turning its back on its Arab-Islamic reality.

The ruling regime has forgotten that anyone who misleads youth [words indistinct] ignores the Arab-Islamic reality, exaggerates in slogans [word indistinct] and distorts reality, cannot build a society [word indistinct] or lead to progress and development.

Development requires economic and political thinkers who are capable of having original ideas, not adolescents vying to outbid one another, or superficial theoreticians. Above all, what is required is faith and to be true to one's origins. We can truthfully say that the principal impression given by the behavior of the ruling regime in South Yemen is one of ignoring reality and the current conditions under which the fraternal people in South Yemen live.

Another impression is that the regime is ignoring the laws of social development, and is turning its back on the Arab nation as a civilized cultural entity which is marked by its own political and economic characteristics.

The present Marxist regime has tied itself to the wheel of the Soviet brand of communism. It later expanded its affiliation to include international communism as practiced in many other states. South Yemen has become an advanced base for communist influence. It is not strange, therefore, that the ruling regime should conclude three friendship treaties, with the USSR, East Germany and Czechoslovakia--when that country's president visited South Yemen a few days ago.

It is beyond argument that the visit by Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak to Ethiopia, Libya and South Yemen revealed the scope of the role laid down for the Tripartite Alliance. It is a role that contradicts [word indistinct] the higher objectives of the Arab nation such as stability, peace and prosperity. The general lines of that role become clear when we look for the reasons that make Libya and South Yemen enter into an alliance with Ethiopia.

Ethiopia is not an Arab state, in fact it is a state that has seen many instances of hostility and problems with more than one Arab state. South Yemen and Libya have turned their backs on the Joint Arab Defense Agreement. They have also disregarded Arab treaties and conventions for aims that have nothing at all to do with Arab interests. From the above, we deduce the reasons for the conduct of the ruling regime in South Yemen. The fact is that the regime has lost its firm base and has nothing but muddy quagmires ahead.

CSO: 4404/1

OMAN

BRIEFS

NEW APPOINTMENTS--Sultan Qabus has appointed Col 'Ali Majid al-Mamari as his first aide-de-camp and head of the palace office, and Ahmad al-Suwaydan as deputy head of the palace office on the same grade. Ibrahim Hamud al-Subhi, Oman's ambassador to the PRC, is transferred to the General Office of the Foreign Ministry. Ahmad 'Abd al-Nabi Makki, ambassador to France, is transferred to the General Office of the Foreign Ministry. [Text] [EA180118 Muscat Domestic Service in Arabic 1300 GMT 17 Sep 81]

CSO: 4404/1



PRESS REPORTS ON PAKISTAN'S ROLE IN U.S. STRATEGY

GF171848 Ash-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 17 Sep 81 p 1

[Editorial: "What Does Pakistan Say?"]

[Excerpts] If the Israeli-U.S. alliance has caused a dangerous gap in the Arabs' "national security," the United States' attempt to involve Pakistan as a third party in its "strategic understanding" in the Middle East, the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean region will certainly destroy all hopes of Islamic resistance to this "gap." This new alliance will embroil a Muslim side, and perhaps more than just one side, in political conflicts and a cold war that will harm the Islamic (determination) confirmed by the At-ta'if Islamic Summit Conference. The summit declared that the Palestinian question and liberating Jerusalem from the Israeli usurpers are Islamic goals that can never be given up.

While admitting that Pakistan's policy is an internal matter, we find it incumbent upon us to warn that Washington's efforts to embroil Islamabad in the U.S. adventures in the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean regions under the pretext of countering the Soviet threat have much to do with us. This is so because the U.S. and Israeli statements--which explain the goals of the Israeli-U.S. alliance--affirm that the alliance was established to confront "some" Arabs in addition to the Soviets, and that Israel would provide an air umbrella to support any military "campaign" in confronting the Soviets on their "agents" in the Arabian Gulf and Mediterranean regions. Thus, we arrive at a solid conclusion that the Camp David "method," which isolated Egypt from the rest of the Arabs--though just temporarily--and was also the foundation of the (open) Israeli-U.S. alliance, is being developed by Washington to divide the Islamic states or perhaps to make a number of Islamic state confront other Islamic states. All this is for nothing except that the United States is afraid of losing its (interests), which are being threatened by the Soviets in the Arabian Gulf, Mediterranean and Indian Ocean.

It is the duty of all Arab states, and the Arabian Gulf states in particular, to warn Pakistan about the danger of the U.S. military plans we have been hearing so much about. The Arab states provide Pakistan with a considerable amount of aid, and the greater part of Pakistan's national income consists of the wealth of Pakistani's working in Arab countries, particularly Gulf states.

Over the past 2 years, U.S. officials have spoken about the planned Pakistani role in the so-called "Gulf security." The U.S. media closely associated with the CIA depicted Pakistan as if it were the "Gulf's gendarme" following the collapse of the shah and his regime. However, on more than one occasion, Pakistan said that it would never agree to play such a role. It also reiterated its stand on the Arabs and their central issues, foremost of which is the Palestinian question and the liberation of Jerusalem.

However, James Buckley--who has visited Islamabad and met with its leaders several times--has made statements about involving Pakistan in the United States' efforts to achieve a "strategic understanding" in the Middle East and Southwest Asia. This requires a clear stand by the Pakistani leadership. Hence, the Arabs, all Arabs, understand the official U.S. announcement to declare Pakistan a third party in the Israeli-U.S. alliance, which will be declared officially in November.

CSO: 4404/1

'AL-ITTIHAD' ON AWACS DEAL, U.S.-SAUDI RELATIONS

GF170618 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 16 Sep 81 p 1

[Editorial]

[Excerpts] The U.S. AWACS deal between the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United States has become a "thermometer" or a balance to measure relations between the kingdom and the United States. This is the way the Saudis view the issue and this is exactly what causes President Reagan's administration concern. His administration suddenly finds itself pushed around by the twists of the Arab-Israeli conflict and asked to adopt a stand--whether with or against the Arabs or the Israelis.

No former U.S. administration had faced a situation in which the U.S. President lost his temper in front of congressmen who oppose the deal in support of the Israeli point of view.

The military value may not be the real touchstone of the importance of the AWACS deal. Rather, as Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal put it, its importance is in the many questions it raises on the future of U.S.-Saudi relations. Hence its importance is in the "policy" behind its acceptance or rejection because the United States must eventually choose whether to continue its policy of supporting Israel in exchange for losing the Arabs--and all the Arabs mean economically and geographically--or drop its unlimited support for Israel in exchange for continuing its relations with the Arabs on the bases of exchanged interests, exchanged respect of sovereignty, and the principles of international relations that reject hegemony, domination and threats.

This is the great predicament faced by U.S. policy on the Middle East. It is a difficult predicament for the United States because the Reagan administration is not wise enough to be able to escape from it. Furthermore, the growing Arab currents rejecting U.S. policy in general do not permit the United States to continue its playing with all sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict. This is indeed the great U.S. predicament.

CSO: 4404/1

NEW SOCIAL SECURITY LAW ISSUED

Dubai AL-BAYAN in Arabic 22 Jul 81 p 4

[Article: "Za'id Issues Federal Law for Social Security; Law Provides for Increased Subsistence, and Includes Families of Prisoners, the Abandoned, and Married Students Who Continue Their Studies"]

[Text] Shaykh Zayid Ibn Sultan al-Nuhayan, president of the UAE, issued a federal law for social security. The provisions of this law include the bases for allocation, and determine the social assistance, measures and conditions for application, and the categories of those who are entitled to it.

The law requires that the minimum social assistance for any person will be 800 dirhams monthly, and that the maximum will be 4,640 dirhams.

The provisions of this law are applicable to those who enjoy UAE citizenship, residing in its territory, and who fulfill its conditions. A female national, married to a foreigner, is exempted from the provision of UAE citizenship, and is entitled to social assistance, as is a widow, whose foreign spouse is deceased.

The law provides that the following are entitled to social assistance: widows and divorced females, those with physical disabilities, the aged, orphans, unmarried daughters, those suffering from pathological disability, students, the families of prisoners, and the abandoned.

The law also grants a stipend to encourage school students below university level, to whom the regulations of this law apply, or to their families. A cabinet decree will be issued determining this stipend and regulating the bases relative to it.

In accordance with the provisions of this law, relief assistance will be offered to families and individuals who are faced with public or private financial difficulties. A cabinet decree will be issued determining the amount of assistance, and the bases relative to it.

Sayf al-Jarwan, minister of labor and social affairs, stated that the amended social security law, promulgated by Shaykh Zayid Ibn Sultan al-Nuhayan, president of the UAE, made allowances for increasing the level of assistance, and the need to add categories, which were not eligible under the previous law, before inserting the new amendments into it. Among them are families of prisoners and the abandoned, and married students who continue their studies.

Moreover, it includes increased social security assistance. The maximum number of beneficiaries of a family is increased from 10 individuals to 16 individuals, so that the maximum assistance for a family of 16 persons is 4,640 dirhams.

The increase includes raising the amount for the first individual, or the minimum amount of assistance, from 375 to 800 dirhams, the second individual from 300 to 480, and for each person from the third up to the sixteenth 280 dirhams, instead of 150, which was only paid up to the tenth person before the law was amended.

The minister of labor and social affairs said that the amended social security law provides for the need to create schedules to regulate payment of assistance. The most important of these is the schedule pertaining to those with material disability. This means those citizens whose income is less than that of a family benefitting from this law, as amended. This includes paying of assistance equal to the difference between those citizens' income and the income of the family benefitting social security assistance. This category includes farmers, fishermen, persons of rare and minor occupations, provided that this assistance not be the cause of their leaving their jobs or abandoning their places of employment in the future.

The minister added that this schedule would also regulate the method of assisting the person able to work, but who cannot find the opportunity to work or scope for earning, especially the handicapped.

He said that the law also includes a schedule pertaining to regulating the payment of assistance for public and private disasters.

The minister of labor mentioned that the law includes some provisions, which deal with certain negative aspects, which appeared when applying the law before being amended. Because of that, it provides for a committee to be formed, chaired by the undersecretary for social affairs, to undertake the study of allocating new cases entitled to assistance, from the various categories. These include widows and divorced women, those with physical disabilities, health disabilities and senility, orphans, unmarried daughters, and sons of families entitled to assistance, who are less than 18 years old and who are still in school, as well as those with material deficiencies.

The committee will also study the dropping of cases, which have lost the right to benefit from social assistance.

The law also provides for the formation of a committee for complaints when necessary, to look into a complaint, which may be submitted by the citizen, to appeal the decision of the previous committee. That decision can be appealed to the minister, whose decision is final.

His Excellency added that the item pertaining to social security in the ministry of labor's present budget has been increased, in view of the amendments to the social security law.

Sayf al-Jawran referred to the fact that the increase, which the amended social security law contains, will play a share in improving the living conditions of citizens benefitting from this law.



He said that it came at a time when the government was undertaking to improve the conditions of employees working for federal organizations, by granting them social allowances, which was recently announced. Moreover, some of the governments and local offices in the various emirates would be applying these allowances to their employees.

His Excellency mentioned that a number of executive decisions would be issued shortly pertaining to this law, including the formation of a supreme committee for social assistance, chaired by the undersecretary for social affairs, to study the allocation of pending cases for assistance, and the dropping of non-entitled cases, the formation of a committee for complaints, to study the appeals submitted by citizens, in the event that their requests had been rejected, a decree regarding the measures and bases for physical examination in cases of health disability, handicapped persons, senility, etc., and a decree establishing the conditions of acceptance in academies and vocational training institutions, the opening up of which will be for the purpose of allocating social assistance for work and production. On the other hand, 'Ubayd Musa Hareb, director of the office of social security in the ministry, stated that steps taken to apply the new amendments would include re-examining all the present cases.

He said that one of the aspects included in the newly amended law was the allocation of social assistance for work, with respect to those who are able to. Therefore, the organizational structure of the ministry will include the creation of a new office for training and vocational education, which will take on the setting up of a training program to train those able to work, but who do not have jobs, as well as to qualify the handicapped who came seeking social security assistance. The person will be paid a stipend, during this training, aside from the social assistance.

It is worth noting that the first law for social security was promulgated in 1972. The present law was introduced in 1976, and its amendments included the first increase in the amount of social assistance, and included various categories, who are presently benefitting.

The number of cases benefitting from social security assistance, in various categories, totals 36,000. Monthly assistance entitled to, in these cases, is estimated at about DH 22.5 million.

The budget of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, for the present year, has been credited with the amount of 700 million dirhams for social security assistance, in light of the increases that have been included, for the second half of this year.

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## UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

### OIL MINISTER DISCUSSES OIL WEAPON

Dubai AL-BAYAN in Arabic 21 Jul 81 p 7

[Article by Dr Mani' Sa'id al-'Utaybah, Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources: "Oil...a Political Commodity; Oil Has Become Prominent as a Political Weapon, and Has Not Lost its Effectiveness, Despite the Present Glut"]

[Text] For years, debate has raged over whether oil is a political or economic commodity. The debate, regarding this matter, reached its peak in the 70's, and the answers received were disparate and differing, according to the political beliefs and systems of each state, whether it was an oil producer and exporter, or a consumer. From the start, whether in private or in the press, the debate was noticed. I also felt it in meetings, which we were holding within the OPEC framework, through the visits that I made to several major industrial nations, and through my interviews with foreign newspapermen.

Let us begin with some answers for this question.

Like it or not, oil is a strategic, economic, political commodity. Everyone tries to deny this description (political), or tries to mislead others, or to cover up the truth.

#### Political Commodity

Evidence for the validity of this description (political) must go back to the start of preferential contracts at the beginning of the present century. We find that several nations, who attached great importance to oil, were putting their political, military and economic weight behind obtaining concessions for drilling for oil. This was the case for the first concession granted in the Arab Gulf area and the Middle East, i.e., Iran. Considerable pressures were brought to bear in order to obtain that concession. There was also intense competition among the parties of this concession.

Subsequent concessions were obtained in similar circumstances, where political pressures were the main effective factor. The competition many times led to disputes and military clashes between one state and another.

## Oil and War

During World War I and World War II, we note that oil was a political commodity, in addition to being a strategic military and economic commodity. Germany in World War II got into devastating battles with the Soviet Union, who was its ally at the start of the war, over ambitions to occupy the oil fields in the Soviet Union (Baku) and the oil fields in Rumania.

At that time, the Soviet Union and Rumania were among the principal oil-producing and exporting nations.

This Nazi Germany drive to occupy the Soviet oil fields was one of the main factors for Germany's defeat. The reason is that they opened a broad front, deploying a large number of their troops and weaponry, without achieving the occupation of the Russian oil wells.

Hitler, the leader of Nazi Germany, understood well that his tanks and military equipment would continue to be severely limited, unless they had the oil supply required for their operation.

This also happened to Germany's ally Japan, since we know that the Japanese armies drove toward the Southeast Asian countries, reaching Indonesia and the oil fields there, and Burma, for the same purpose. This led to their being compelled to deploy their forces over vast areas, and in many countries, and consequently, this deployment was one of the elements in their defeat in World War II.

### Eisenhower's Statement

Another example that we can cite as evidence for our statement that oil is a political and strategic commodity, in addition to being an economic commodity, is the statement of the commander of the allied forces in World War II, General Eisenhower. His famous words in that war were: "Give me sufficient oil, and I will guarantee you victory."

This evidence makes clear to us the maximum importance of oil as a military, strategic and political commodity.

If we were to revisit history, what would we find?

After the end of World War II, and the defeat of the Axis Powers and the Allied Powers' victory, we find that some allied states inherited from the defeated powers--Germany, Turkey and Italy--some oil concessions, which those defeated nations had established. In fact, England, France, the United States and Holland obtained oil concessions in our region, in the UAE and Iraq. It is worth noting that the Allied Powers threatened to take Mosul province away from Iraq, unless it agreed to grant a concession to them. Iraq in fact agreed to grant the concession to the Iraqi Petroleum Company (IPC), which was an extension of the Trucial Coast Petroleum Company, and then the Abu Dhabi Petroleum Company (ADPC), as we now know it.

## The Stage of Deception

These matters bring us to the ensuing stages of politicizing oil, and of recognizing it as a political commodity.

In that period, this matter was clear and obvious, with respect to one of the concerned parties, i.e., the principal oil-consuming nations, and the large, international oil companies, subordinate to those nations. At the time that the second party, which had the main legal claim, was ignorant of this role for oil, brainwashing was being employed against it, to confine oil's role to just that of a normal commercial commodity, which should not be dragged into politics.

## Birth of OPEC

In 1960, OPEC was created for the purpose of making the oil-producing nations sensitive to the importance of this commodity, as an economic, political and strategic commodity. It saw that, through collective bargaining, it could achieve effective control over this important resource.

At the outset, OPEC faced a great many kinds of wars, resistance and non-recognition, until in 1970 and 1971, it was able, through the Teheran Agreement, to begin a new era in the oil industry. It was an attempt to control some aspects of this industry, correct certain errors, and lift the prejudice, from which the principal oil-producing states suffered. The income tax and royalty tax were amended, and the price of oil was raised for the first time, after the decline of prices in the 50's.

Although that increase in prices was a formality, it was a start, and the first step along the route we have been travelling since the Teheran Agreement.

## Partnership Agreements

After that, the partnership agreement arrived in 1972. Within it, we felt the extent of the interlocking between politics and the economy in oil affairs. We discovered how the nations that owned the companies had begun to pursue the political role, political window-dressing, and political repression at certain times, to defend their companies and give these companies sufficient support so that they could stand up to the oil-producing and exporting nations.

At the same time, as OPEC nations, we began to use the same weapon. The kings and presidents of the OPEC nations sent messages to the heads of the large industrial states, which set forth the determination of the governments of the OPEC nations to obtain their full rights. The late King Faysal sent a well-known letter to the president of the United States in 1972, after which the oil companies were broken up, and partnership agreements came to be applied.

## The Ramadhan War

In 1973, oil passed through a decisive stage, a turning-point in the oil industry's history, since for the first time, it was used as a political weapon in the battle.

The fourth war between the Arabs and Israel began in October of that year. At that time, we were in Vienna, discussing with the major oil companies an oil price increase. The war broke out during these negotiations, and the oil companies procrastinated, hopeful that the Arabs would be defeated in this war, because they represented the major force within OPEC, since they were the largest producers of oil in the world. In addition, they owned the largest oil deposits on their territory. Among the 13 members of OPEC, six members are Arab.

In the face of the companies' procrastination, we decided to meet in Kuwait on 16 October. Accordingly, there were 10 days between the start of the war on 6 October and our meeting in Kuwait on 16 October. This was the time limit for the companies to make their final decision; either comply with our demands, or we would take appropriate steps, on our part, as producers.

#### The Arab Will

Time passed, and the oil companies did not respond within the time limit we had given them. We met in Kuwait on 16 October, as OPEC Gulf oil ministers. We decided, for our part, to increase oil prices.

The following day, 17 October, we met as Arab oil ministers, after the balance of the war had swung to the enemy's favor, since his forces had breached the western fronts in Sinai, and in Golan, and had penetrated areas close to Damascus and Cairo. Arab voices were raised that oil, with all its weight, must be put into the battle. Shaykh Zayid's famous statement was: "Arab oil is not dearer than Arab blood."

The UAE had the honor of firing the first shot in that battle.

We met in Kuwait on 17 October, as Arab oil ministers, to deal with the subject of oil and its political role. Debate was intense among us as to the method of using this political weapon in the battle.

There were those who said that the world oil companies must be nationalized, in order to punish the major powers that stood by the Zionist enemy in the war.

There were those who saw the need to withdraw the Arab capital, which was small and of no significance at that time.

The principle of cutting off oil from every state that supported Israel was openly supported.

However, this decision did not win approval.

The UAE was the author of this proposal. Ultimately, it was agreed to reduce oil production, across-the-board and gradually, by 5 percent per month, until the international community clearly responded to the Arab right.

At that time, we found that this action was inadequate, and that rapid and urgent steps must be taken to put matters into their true perspective.



The least that should have been done was to cut off every state that supported Israel from oil. The United States, at that time, had completed establishing an airlift to gradually compensate the Israeli enemy for all its military losses.

#### The Reins of the Initiative

At the direction of His Highness, Shaykh Zayid Ibn Sultan Al Nuhayan, we decided in Kuwait to stop the flow of oil to the United States. We announced that we would cut it off from every state that continued to support Israel. This decision was later applied against Holland.

Three days later, the other Arab states followed us. Iraq also nationalized the American companies' share in its oil companies.

At the same time, some other states regrettably had not cut off oil even from the United States, and Arab oil, or a part of it, continued to flow to it.

This economic, political transformation came about as a result of specific political circumstances, which manifested the strong connection between the political and economic facets of this commodity.

Previously, the Arabs had used the oil weapon against Israel, when they had applied an oil embargo against it. This oil embargo had also been applied against South Africa. Arab oil was forbidden to go to South Africa, out of solidarity with the African brethren. Later, this embargo was applied on the OPEC level.

#### Declining Investment

After that, other steps were taken, which did not have that luster that had appeared during the use of oil as a political weapon in the battle in 1973.

I do not want to go into the historical details of the use of the oil weapon, and its effects, because that would require many more pages. However, I will rapidly touch on the highlights with respect to political oil.

A system known as multiple-basing for oil pricing was established at an OPEC meeting in Doha in 1978, where the majority of OPEC states decided to increase oil prices by 10 percent. However, Saudi Arabia and the UAE decided to raise their prices by 5 percent.

From then to this very day, we find that this development has clearly continued, especially after the Islamic revolution in Iran, so that the differential between various types of oil was more than \$10 per barrel, at the beginning of this year, whereas, before the Doha meeting, it was no more than \$2.

This step had, from the beginning, a political ramification, which can be briefly stated. Oil has a political role, which must be carried out, except when a sacrifice was made by this difference in increase.

We felt that oil must be used as a political weapon in peace, after its success as a political weapon in war. By that I mean that oil must be used as a tool to

achieve one's wishes, to gain more friends, and to encourage the hesitant to adopt positions of support for Arab issues, so that they adopt these positions and clearly speak out with regard to these issues.

#### The Moderate Goal

From this basis, our position, along with Saudi Arabia, was a moderate position, which some might think was more tolerant, but when we consider the matter deeply and look at it comprehensively, we find that our position was necessary, especially after the present oil glut appeared. A group of OPEC members and outside nations began to compete on reducing oil prices.

Our position, along with Saudi Arabia, stemmed from our understanding of the important and principal oil role in times of peace, that political and strategic benefit must be gained from this role, and that we should not consider it merely as a commercial commodity, from which we try to gain as much profit as possible.

This theory should really be put forth by private foundations and companies, whose only goal is to make quick profits, whereas we as nations take a comprehensive look at matters. However, there are long range political and strategic gains, which must be made, aside from material profits, which we also consider important.

#### Positions of Europe and Japan

The Islamic revolution occurred in Iran, and oil's political role again became prominent. Arab oil appeared as a main factor and as a primary support for the world's economy. The Western nations began to compete to gain the Arab nations' friendship. Europe and Japan began to take positions that were more just with respect to our national issues.

I do not claim that they took pre-Arab positions. I do not hope for that. On the contrary, our only hope is that these nations take a moderate stand, not biased toward any one of the contending parties.

The so-called 'rifle' declaration appeared. Europe, in regard to this declaration, took a position independent of the U.S. position, which at that time was drifting toward what became known as the Camp David capitulation agreements, and which constituted humiliation and shame for the Arabs, after all the sacrifices and struggle they had gone through for the past 30 years.

Japan also began to follow the path of understanding and justice for the Arab issues, or rather, it preceded Europe on this path. The UAE had a big role in this field. We opened a dialogue with Japan. We also sponsored the Japanese-Palestinian dialogue, and used our relations with Japan to serve this noble goal. Oil plays the primary role in our relations with Japan, since it is a political and economic commodity.

Through this Japanese-Palestinian dialogue, which we sponsored and encouraged, Japan recognized the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, and the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and to have a national homeland.

An office was also opened for the PLO and the Palestinian flag raised over the office building. The PLO used to have a representative in the Arab League office. The Japanese government and parliament began to deal with the PLO representative in Tokyo on the basis of mutual understanding and support.

#### Conscious Use

The UAE also undertook to open the same dialogue between the PLO and Italy and West Germany.

I suggested to the Germans, when I was visiting them last year, that a dialogue be started between the Palestine National Council and the German parliament, as a beginning, because it was not necessary to have just one method of dialogue between the PLO and any state, but several methods could be pursued, provided that they result in the same objective. That goal is recognition of the PLO as a sole, legal representative of the Palestinian people, and of the Palestinian people's full rights, led by their right to have a homeland.

I personally broached this matter to the French and British governments, when I visited them this year.

The purpose in mentioning all this is that the UAE, as a principal producer of oil, is attempting to play a modest role, by using this important and positive weapon, in times of peace, to gain friends and encourage the reluctant to take just positions, with respect to our national issues.

#### International Strategies and the Region's Will

Even in the Egyptian-Israel peace treaty, we find that oil had a political role, since Israel insisted that Egypt commit itself to supplying Israel with quantities of oil. This has, in fact, happened. The United States pledged, and President Carter promised, that the United States, in the event of a scarcity of oil materials for Israel, would supply Israel with its oil needs.

Then the Iraqi-Iranian war broke out, with all the international political and economic unrest it caused. It also caused the creation of rapid intervention forces, the need to protect the oil wells, and the fear of Communist expansion. This was in addition to the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. These movements by the major powers, whether Eastern or Western, had oil as the purpose behind them. Oil as a political and strategic commodity, not merely as a commercial commodity.

The Russians dream of reaching warm waters and of obtaining a share of this booty, while the Western nations try to keep this booty for themselves, because of the influence it has on their economies and the future of these economies. Therefore, the struggle rages furiously between the major powers and the various international blocs.

Therefore, we find that our role, which we must undertake, is to safeguard our independence, to keep away from the logics of influence and these struggles, to strengthen ourselves, and to cooperate with our brothers, who share with us the view of keeping international struggles out of our region.

## Zionist Aggression and the Effectiveness of Oil

Then there was the recent incident of the strike against the Iraqi nuclear reactor by Israel. We understand the negative effects left by this action upon the Arab soul. It is our memory of what happened in 1967, when Israeli aircraft bombed Arab aircraft, and the Arabs were subjected to a relapse, leaving behind impressions upon them that have lasted to this day.

The bombing of the Iraqi reactor, which is more than 1000km away, makes us see how the Zionist arm, with its unlimited support, can reach out to any area of the Arab World. Therefore, after this incident, there was unrest that the Arabs would use the oil weapon. The world financial market was convulsed, when the Arab foreign ministers met. Unrest still grips many observers and officials in various nations of the world, with respect to the Arabs using the oil weapon again.

I was in London, during this period, and several questions were put to me about the steps we would take to restore Arab honor, after this insult to their pride and morale.

I said that oil was also a political weapon, and had not lost its effectiveness, despite the glut on the world oil market. Arab oil will continue to be a political weapon in time of war and in time of peace.

We must not be influenced, we must be governed by our intellects. We must act wisely and with equilibrium, because he who loses control of his thought and his mind, cannot make a sound decision, especially if this decision relates to the fate of a community and the future of a nation.

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DH 174 MILLION ROAD PROJECTS

Dubai AL-BAYAN in Arabic 23 Jul 81 p 4

[Article: "174 Million Dirhams for New Road Projects in Abu Dhabi"]

[Text] Work is beginning on main roads projects in the central area of Abu Dhabi, in which most of the traffic, activities and population is concentrated.

This expansion includes widening the airport road, on which work has in fact begun, as well as Shaykh Khalifah, Hamadan, Zayid al-Thani, al-Fallah, and the rest of the streets which tie them together, such as al-Sallam, Zayid al-Awal, and King Khaled streets.

Engineer 'Azmi Abu Taleb, director of the office of city planning, in the municipality of Abu Dhabi, told AL-BAYAN that, in accordance with the orders issued by Shaykh Khalifah Ibn Zayid, the crown prince of Abu Dhabi, deputy supreme commander of the armed forces, and chairman of the executive council, and in accordance with the instructions issued by Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Bati, chief of the office of the municipality of Abu Dhabi and city planning, work will start on these projects, which are included in the city's 5-year plan, during the next few months. At the present time, they are in the competitive bidding cycle.

Abu Taleb added that, when these projects are implemented, the availability of places set aside for waiting vehicles would be taken into consideration, along with areas required for pedestrian traffic and improvement of sidewalks, in addition to establishing new methods of handling various service lines, such as pipelines, electricity and water, so that they will be separate from the modernized main roads. This will ensure that there will be no obstacles to traffic movement, when emergency repairs are made.

He also added that these projects, which are in the competitive bidding cycle, will undertake a study of public bus routes in the city, the establishment of a main vehicle parking area, near al-Difa' gate, in addition to subsidiary parking areas in the various quarters.

He went on to say that there are other projects under implementation, which are included in the city's 5-year plan, such as completing the al-Difa' entrance bridge, the al-Riyadhiyah city bridge, and expanding the airport road. These projects amount to nearly 174 million dirhams.



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